

# THE MONTH

*A Catholic Magazine and Review.*

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## *The Truth about Uganda.*

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MANY contradictory reports have reached us during the last few months as to the cause and history of the late civil war in Uganda. But it is not difficult to see, by the light of the evidence contained in the documents and despatches, that a cruel and unjust massacre has been perpetrated on the Catholic converts there. But before referring to the conflicting evidence, we will paint the background of the terrible Uganda drama by saying a few words about those who were its chief victims.

The Congregation of the White Fathers for the conversion of Africa was founded in 1868 by the indefatigable Cardinal Lavigerie, to meet the wants of the poor Arabs who were stricken down by the terrible famine of 1867. The learned and holy Père Terrasse, S.J., took direction of their Novitiate, forming and training the first candidates of this African Congregation, which now has four hundred subjects. The first field allotted for their apostolic labours was the vast region of Sahara and Soudan, which was formed into a Vicariate. In 1876 this dark and arid land was watered with the martyrs' blood of six of their Fathers, and this caused to spring up many flourishing missions, such as Biskara, Ghardaya, and Ouargla. But, sighing for a wider and a more hopeful range for their apostolic zeal, the Holy Father in 1878 opened to them the door of Central Africa, the veil that screened from view this unknown country having been removed by the hands of the great explorers, such as Livingstone, Burton, Cameron, Speke, Schweinfurth, and Stanley. It was in 1878 that the first caravan of Catholic missionaries left Algiers and penetrated into this land of darkness, to preach the glad tidings of the Gospel to over a hundred millions of heathens. This vast mission of Central Africa was portioned out in 1880 into two Apostolic Vicariates—that of Tanganika and that of Nyanza—over which the great African apostle, Mgr. Livinhac, was named the first Bishop. Under his apostolic administration the missionary work developed so fast,

that in 1887 the new Vicariate of High Congo was formed out of the Vicariate of Tanganika, and out of Nyanza was created the new Vicariate of Ounyanyembé. The Holy Father was so satisfied with the wonderful results of their labours, that in 1889 he handed over to their pastoral care the Vicariate of Nyassa. Scattered over these five Vicariates there are at present only a hundred and fifty White Fathers, a hundred in the prime of life having already succumbed to fever, or fallen by the sword of brigands, or been massacred by slave-dealers. But yet this is not a small number when we know that an outlay of 7,000 francs is necessary to send a missionary from France to Central Africa, the journey taking four months, and being made partly on foot and partly on asses and mules. Each of these animals costs over 600 francs.

Lake Victoria lies in the centre of the Vicariate of Nyanza, the southern part of the lake being in the German sphere of influence, and the northern part under British influence and represented by the Imperial East Africa Chartered Company. In this northern part of the lake is situated Uganda, a kingdom half the size of France, and the most fertile and healthy region of the Dark Continent. Its people also are more intelligent and numerous than in any part of Central Africa.

The first Catholic missionary that entered the kingdom of Uganda was Father Lourdel, accompanied by Brother Amant. The Protestant missionaries who had been sent out there the year before (1878), owing to Stanley's challenge, did their utmost to persuade Mtésa, the King of Uganda, to forbid them from settling in his kingdom. For this purpose the Rev. Mr. Mackay visited the King, and tried to make him believe that Catholic missionaries had no knowledge of God and adored images. The King thereupon hesitated for three days to receive Father Lourdel, who during this time was safely guarded in a small hut. At length he consented to give him a public audience, Mr. Mackay, the Protestant clergyman, being present. Father Lourdel having made the King an offering, asked his leave to found a Catholic mission in his kingdom. For further explanation he referred the King to Mr. Mackay, in whose honesty at that time he trusted. Mr. Mackay said to the King: "I know Catholic missionaries, but I ought to tell your Majesty that they teach a multitude of errors, they adore images contrary to the teaching of the Bible. Besides, the French hate kings. They killed their own king years ago, and

I won't answer for your life if you let them into your kingdom." Père Lourdel interrupting him, said : "I don't know the native language as well as you, but if you only have lies to say, leave me to be my own spokesman." Accordingly, he explained to the King the first chapters of the Kiswahili catechism, published by the Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. The King was so touched by the truth of his teaching that he gave orders for thirty-five boats to be sent to the south of the lake to fetch up the Catholic missionaries, who reached Port Mtéhé and entered that land of darkness with the light of faith on June 17th. From that day the Catholic missionaries with Mgr. Livinhac at their head began to sow the seed of God's Word and to reap an abundant harvest, having converted during the ten years fifty thousand pagan souls. But this glorious harvest was accompanied by many trials and sufferings which may all be classed under three heads.

1. Their persecution by the natives.
2. Their persecution by the Mahometans.
3. Their persecution by the Protestants.

1. In 1886 when Mtésa, the King of Uganda, who had a thousand wives, and put any of his subjects to death at his royal will and pleasure, came to know that the Catholic missionaries condemned polygamy and injustice, the traditional appendages of his royalty, he raised against them a cruel persecution. He banished the priests, and put to death two hundred native Christians, who like the Machabees of old, bravely and joyfully submitted to horrible tortures rather than deny their faith. The most horrible death was that of the faithful Mathias Mouroumba, whose son is now in Algiers at Maison-Carrée. His hands and feet were cut off, and then throwing him down with his face to the ground, the persecutors violently tore off his skin from the flesh, and then his flesh from the bones, and roasted it before his eyes. All this he bore with radiant joy, the love of suffering for Christ giving him strength to bear with unflinching fortitude the agony he endured.

2. Two years afterwards the Mahometans, ten thousand in number, enraged at the progress of the Catholic religion, dethroned the King Mwanga, the successor of Mtésa, and drove away and massacred the Christians, seizing and plundering their homes and villages. They cast the Catholic and Protestant missionaries into one common prison. There the Catholic

Fathers rendered such signal services to the Protestant ministers, sharing with them their food and clothing, and saving their lives from eminent peril, that Lord Salisbury in an official letter of April 8, 1889, offered to the Catholic missionaries the expression of the thanks of the Queen and British Government.

The cruelties and excesses of the fanatical and Christian-hating Mussulmen, soon brought about a reaction. For Honorat, a Christian chief, having raised an army in the west of Uganda, marched against the Arab forces, and after two victorious battles he entered the capital, and reinstated Mwanga on his throne, but peace was not of long duration.

3. In 1892 a third persecution broke out, the most terrible of all; for it was a persecution not of natives against Christians, or Arabs against Christians, but of Christians against Christians, of Protestants against Catholics, of Captain Lugard and his Protestant adherents against Bishop Hirth, the Vicar Apostolic of the Nyanza region, and his Catholic people. Captain Lugard is, as most of our readers know, a paid agent of the East Africa Company. He was sent in 1890 by the Directors of this Company from Mombasa with a troop of Soudanese soldiers to subject to this trading society the kingdom of Uganda, to enrich it by commercial enterprises and speculations, to resist the power and progress of the Catholic Church, and to Protestantize the country, the great preponderance of the Christian population having hitherto been on the side of the Catholics, who completely outnumbered the Protestants. Such turned out to be the real though not expressed objects of his coming to Uganda, as is evident from weighing and comparing the various reports which have reached us from that far-off country. But we will confine ourselves here with giving a *résumé* with necessary extracts of the three principal official reports, namely :

- (1) Captain Lugard's official report.
- (2) Bishop Hirth's official report.
- (3) Bishop Livinhac's reply to Captain Lugard's report.

We will quote only when necessary some paragraphs from the other less important documents and despatches.

We will begin with a letter written by Mgr. Hirth six months before the events with which we are more immediately concerned took place.

Sainte Marie de Rubaga.

July 24th, 1891.

For a long time we have been more or less covertly oppressed by the Protestants and are now threatened by a violent and cruel persecution which causes me to raise the alarm. About eighteen months ago the Christians replaced Mwanga on the throne, having in an heroic struggle expelled the Mussulman Arabs who had scarcely occupied the country a year. Both Catholics and Protestants united in their efforts to reconquer the whole territory of Uganda inch by inch.

The Catholics were twice as numerous as the Protestants; but in the division of the country, the latter, owing to their audacity and to their iniquitous proceedings, obtained more than half the provinces for themselves. This division is made in such a manner that each chief, great or small, has under him a subordinate of the opposite religion. In Uganda things are so divided and regulated, that every one, even the very lowest, holds some office or other.

With the Baganda, who are enthusiastic proselytisers, such a state of things must soon lead to contests, and the more so because the Protestants have at their head the Katikiro, or prime-minister, whose ambition knows no bounds, and who, under pretext of zeal for religion, dreams of nothing less than absolute dominion over the whole province of Uganda. For some time, the Protestants, scattered everywhere amongst the Catholics, hoped either to induce or intimidate the latter into apostatizing, but just the contrary has taken place. Many heretics acting in good faith have been converted by our people and the number of those who abjure heresy is continually increasing. The Katikiro, seeing his party compromised, has been waging a bitter warfare against us, especially during the last six months. The arrival of the first English officers with a small army from the coast, made him more daring than ever. All those who became converts to Catholicity are mercilessly driven from their posts, and deprived not only of their office, but frequently of their personal property. Nevertheless all this has not hindered the working of God's grace, and conversions continue. Finally a few days ago the Protestants, saying they wished to ascertain their numbers, assembled all their troops around the Katikiro, and a disturbance broke out on the erection of a large pole in the courtyard, bearing the ancient colours of Mtésa. The enemies of the King agreed to look upon it as a Catholic standard.

This compelled Mwanga to collect together those who have remained loyal to him, that is to say the Catholics, and for several days nothing but war-cries and frantic beating of drums is to be heard at the foot of our hill. The Catholics are far superior in numbers, but the Protestants prevail by their unscrupulous proceedings; they seem to consider all means fair by which they can spread their doctrines throughout the country. Seeing themselves in the minority, they immediately threatened Mwanga that they would make common cause

with the Mussulmans who are still on the frontier of Uganda, to the number of about ten thousand. It is said that these tactics are the work of the preachers. Joined with the Mussulmans the Protestants are stronger than the Catholics; and so Mwanga, yielding to fear, has capitulated. The English officer who remains in Uganda with only a few of the garrison (the other troops are in pursuit of Emin Pasha, who returned to his province three months ago), has obtained, in favour of the Protestant party, a cession of half of the Sésé Islands, which up to this have been exclusively Catholic. Their first act on obtaining possession of these islands was to expel all the Catholics; such is the notion our Government seems to have of liberty of worship, yet this was a thing stipulated for in the contract between Mwanga and the first English officer who came to Uganda. The Sésé Isles were the last resource of the Catholics in case of a defeat upon the mainland, and now this retreat is cut off. The Protestants, emboldened by their first successes, know not where to stop, and are more triumphant than ever. They are far from disarming, and war is imminent.

This was the state of things when, in January last, Captain Lugard, who was in the pay of the East Africa Company, and the protector, if not the paid agent of the Protestant Church Missionary Society and their ministers, returned from Unyoro to Uganda with a band of seven hundred to eight hundred soldiers and a supply of rifles and Maxim guns. From that time the unequal struggle virtually commenced. Captain Lugard had, it seems, determined, now that he had the material weapons and physical force on his side, to crush out Catholicity as far as was possible, in favour of Protestant influence; and the trading company, determined to secure a monopoly for themselves, entered into an alliance with the Mahometans, and resolved to force the Catholics into an open collision. His present cue is to assert that the Catholics were the aggressors, but from his own letters it is clear that the King and the Catholics acted with the greatest forbearance. He pretends to believe that the aggressive attitude of the Catholics was the result of the arrival of the party of the White Fathers with the Catholic Bishop, who brought with them the news that the African trading company intended to evacuate Uganda. We will quote from his own words:

On the 23rd (January), seeing that the Catholics appeared to have made up their minds to fight, I wrote to the Roman Catholic Bishop warning him of the state of things and asking him to use his influence to prevent so terrible a war. I may mention here that a party of French priests with the Bishop had arrived about the 12th inst., and from



about the date of their arrival (which, however, may be merely a coincidence) the trouble with the Catholics began. I am inclined to think that they brought the news which had been published in the English papers that the British had decided to withdraw from Uganda. Our relations with the priests continued most friendly, nor had I ever, in conversation with the Protestants, made a disparaging remark concerning them. A man of Stokes', who is trading here, and has no cause whatever to espouse either party, told the Protestants that one of the priests had told the Catholics they need have no fear of us, since we were merely a trading company, who could not and dare not fight, and that he could drive us all out with a walking-stick. The extraordinary change in the demeanour of the Catholics, who had now publicly in the Baraza before the King insulted my representative Dualla, called by the Waganda my "Katikiro," by saying they would kill us all, &c., and the calm assurance they exhibited, so different to any former occasion, can only be attributed to some such assurances from the priests.

If ever a man was confuted from his own mouth, it is Captain Lugard. The reason forsooth of the attack of the Catholics was the fact that in a short time the Africa Company with their guns and soldiers were expected to leave the country! As Mgr. Livinhac justly remarks:

The third charge is *that the Catholics determined to bring about a crisis on hearing that the English were about to withdraw*. This is indeed a strange idea! According to this the Catholics seeing that the English were on the point of retiring, taking with them the soldiers brought up from the coast and those taken from Emin Pasha as well as their guns and cannon, thus depriving the Protestant party of their greatest support, hastened to bring about a crisis even before their departure! Evidently Captain Lugard does not wish to inspire us with a great respect for the common sense of the Bagandas. Stanley did not think them such fools. If the Catholics really intended an attack, would it not have been for their own interest to defer it until their enemies were left to their own resources? There is such a charming *naïveté* in this third charge, that we begin to wonder if it be really in the report in question. However, this is not impossible; for it is often the fate of falsehood to become entangled in its own meshes.

No one can read Captain Lugard's own story without reading the truth between the lines. He came back from Unyoro resolved to strike a blow in favour of the Protestant and Mahometan party. He knew he had force on his side: with might, what mattered right? All that was necessary was to find some excuse for forcing on a collision which would

compel the King either practically to forfeit his authority and throw himself into the arms of the Protestants, or else to venture on a battle with Lugard's disciplined force, repeating rifles, and Maxim guns.

We now come to his official report, addressed to the Directors of the East Africa Company, of the final incident which led to the breaking out of the civil war :

Feb. 11, 1892.

I had just completed the mail when on Wednesday, January 20th, the Protestants came to me in great excitement to report that a man had been murdered and his gun taken by the Catholics in the streets of Mengo ; that a party of the latter had collected and defied the Protestants to remove the corpse, and that a fight would have been the consequence, involving a general war, had not the Katikiro called off his men and came to appeal to me. I at once went to the King, and was kept waiting a long time outside—a mark of discourtesy. I insisted on the corpse being at once removed, and this was ordered. I then reminded the King that since the first day I had come to Mengo I had told him strongly that in every case of murder the murderer should be executed, since one such outrage was enough to plunge the whole country in war. If there had been provocation, let the others be severely flogged, but an execution was necessary as an example. He was very civil, and said it was quite true I had always said this, and it was quite right ; but it was proper the evidence should be heard first. He therefore sent for the man who had killed the other. A very long delay ensued, during which there was much laughing and chatting, and as only Catholics were present it was obvious to me that they had already settled with the King, satisfactorily to themselves, how the judgment should be given. Pleading indisposition, I left the burza, leaving Dualla and my confidential interpreter, both unbiassed Mahometans, to hear all that passed and report to me. The report was very unsatisfactory. The murder was quite unjustified, but the King gave judgment for the Catholic side, not even exacting a fine or any lesser penalty than death.

This "murder," however, assumes a very different aspect in the report of Mgr. Hirth and Mgr. Livinhac. It was merely a justifiable act of self-defence. Mgr. Hirth, in a letter to His Eminence, Cardinal Lavigerie, writes as follows :

You know the history of Catholicism in Uganda during the last three years. You know how, during the days of exile in Usagara, the Protestants desired to form a group apart, and thus give birth to a Protestant party separate from the Catholic party ; you know how, on their return, these two groups divided Uganda among themselves in two equal portions, apportioning all the districts between the two



camps without any reference to the number of Protestants, who were in a minority.

You know of the struggle that followed this division of country, and how that struggle from day to day became hotter. Religion and politics were mixed up together, without the missionaries being able to separate the two questions. By a piece of diabolical malice the British flag was taken by the Protestants as a signal for gathering together against the Catholics, and the attempt was made to force the flag upon King Mwanga and the whole country. Ten times they begged him to accept it; ten times he refused it, owing to the faults of the Protestants themselves, who wished to swallow every district, and impose their religion there. Mwanga, before planting the flag in Uganda, claimed a guarantee from the officers of the British Fort that the flag should afford protection to both parties equally. Instead of this, his authority and that of his party was systematically undermined. The aggressions of the Protestants against the Catholics increased day by day, and were supported at the English Fort. The justest decisions of the King remained without effect when they were given against Protestants. . . .

About January the Fort received two consignments of arms and ammunition, the only things that arrived from Mombasa. This coincided with Captain Lugard's return from Unyoro. He had there met the old troops of Emin Pasha, who were sent by Emin on their way to Bukoba. Captain Lugard negotiated with them, left half of them in Unyoro, that they might annoy King Kabarega by their inroads, and led the rest to Mengo, which thus received a force of seven hundred or eight hundred trained men. From that time the Captain's plans were laid, although they were kept secret. The Catholics, who from day to day became more numerous, were to be put an end to. For about a month Mwanga had openly acknowledged the Catholic faith, and once a week at least went with his whole Court to the mission at Rubaga, to attend the preaching there, and the whole country seemed to be inclined to follow him. The Protestants were greatly exasperated, and it was said that it was they who prompted the Captain to take violent measures. For fifteen days anarchy reigned. Murders and thefts of rifles became more frequent, the Catholics having the disadvantage. Captain Lugard wished to settle one of these disputes himself. It concerned a Protestant chief who had been killed on the estate of a Catholic, against whom he had led a band armed to the teeth, and furnished with firebrands. The case was a perfectly clear one, but the Protestants would not admit it. While at the Fort they were negotiating with the King for justice, they were distributing by night hundreds of English army rifles; a like distribution had already been made some days previous in the capital of the Pokino.

In confirmation of this, Mgr. Livinhac makes the following telling reply to Captain Lugard's statement that a Protestant had been murdered by a Catholic :

A Catholic *killed a Protestant*. . . . But under what circumstances? Surely they should be stated, as they might shed new light on the question. As the particulars are not related, we shall state them for the third time, rectifying the incorrect words "in the streets of Mengo." These then are the facts: Anarchy had reigned for a fortnight. . . . Murders and the seizure of fire-arms became more and more frequent, the Catholics being the chief sufferers. Captain Lugard wished to act as judge in one of these disputes. It was a question of a Catholic chief, named Mongolaba, whose house had been attacked by the followers of a Protestant chief, named Muwanika, who were armed to the teeth and carried torches. Mongolaba returned the fire of his assailants, one of whom was killed. Such is the event which served as a pretext for the massacres related in our last letters. Captain Lugard wanted Mongolaba to be condemned, but the King would not consent to punish a man who had only taken up arms in self-defence.

Whilst the occupants of the Fort were parleying with the Court to obtain what they called justice, they caused several hundred guns to be distributed by night, and we know with what result. Now, can Mwanga be accused of acting wrongly on this occasion, considering that the agents had previously refused to hand over to him a man who had attempted to assassinate him by night? As to the threats which Captain Lugard puts into the King's mouth, they seem very improbable. Mwanga had patiently borne with the insolence of his Protestant Katikiro at a time, when by a single word he could have had him put to death; if he took no notice of such words as "take care of yourself, as soon as the English shall have gained strength!" although he had the power to avenge them, it is incredible that he could have forgotten such a threat when he became the weaker party.

Captain Lugard, who did not understand a word of the language, must have either invented his charges against the King, or else accepted the false accusations of Katikiro and the rebels who desired to dethrone their sovereign in favour of the Protestant and Mahometan party.

For two or three days after the above incident, negotiations were carried on, but Lugard demanded of the King terms utterly inconsistent with his duty as King. On the 24th the collision took place. Captain Lugard's report is as follows. The reader will observe how the King's attempts at peace were frustrated by Captain Lugard's insisting on his giving up to death the man who had, in the defence of his own house, shot one of its assailants, and who had been tried and acquitted by the royal tribunal:

Next day, Sunday, the Catholics began to collect under arms, and the Protestants assembled on the defensive near Kampala. The King's

hill and the King's enclosures were entirely filled with Catholics, and the messages emanating from the King were sent entirely by them. The King sent down begging me to stop the war and call off the Protestants. I said I would do so if he would give up the murderer. Meanwhile, the Catholics were firing guns repeatedly, to provoke the Protestants to fight, and brandishing flags in the manner adopted by the Waganda to challenge the enemy to fight. Presently a Protestant was shot in the face by a Catholic of the Canta. Still I prevented the Protestants from fighting, but demanded the man who had committed this outrage in addition to the other. A man was now sent down by the King, but it was unanimously agreed he was not the man. I sent back a message to say that if the original murderer was given up I would leave all other matters for decision in the Baraza next day. This was a great concession, but I thought that what had occurred would be sufficient to teach the Catholics a lesson, and I was most anxious to save the war. I think that this would have been agreed to by the King and chiefs, but the messengers had hardly left the Kampala gates when the Catholics opened a heavy fire on the Protestants. For long past the former had been firing occasional shots, but I had forbidden the latter to reply. Now, I am told, Sambera, a very favourite chief, was killed by this unprovoked attack, and a few minutes later the battle was general.

Captain Lugard's details of the battle are not published by *The Times*. But we have Mgr. Hirth's account of the defeat of the Catholics by means of the recently imported weapons which had been put into the hands of the Protestants:

At last, on Sunday, January 24th, the matter came to a crisis. In the morning a few shots were heard, and again, towards two o'clock, more were fired. The Catholics were obliged to answer. Their first shot hit Sembera Mackay, one of the seven Protestant deacons, just as he was about to aim at one of us. A hand-to-hand combat immediately ensued. The struggle was too unequal; there was no proportion between the arms of the two parties. The Catholics had the whole English Fort against them, but they fought for faith and country. They saw themselves being hunted from their country; they did not wish to go without a supreme effort to obtain the victory of justice. In half an hour the fight was waged for life or death. The head chiefs fell first, and had to be carried away, which caused some confusion. But Gabriel Mysoi was to be seen everywhere, encouraging them, and trying to restore order. Five times he forced the Protestants back to the Fort. The fifth time he penetrated into it under the fire of two mitrailleuses, but after firing sixty-eight cartridges his ammunition was exhausted, and he withdrew to the King's residence in order to remove him and his Court. The Catholics were vanquished.

We omit the account of the perils through which the Bishop and the White Fathers were exposed, and their narrow escape and final shelter, in order to save their lives, in the Fort occupied by Captain Lugard and the Protestants. "The missionaries," says the Bishop, "sadly took the road for the English Fort, amid the insults and hoots of the Protestants who remained masters of the battlefield."

Meanwhile the King Mwanga had fled from his palace, and taken refuge on the island. Thereon Captain Lugard, according to his own story, tried to bring him back, but was prevented by Mgr. Hirth. This is probably true, for he considered that Captain Lugard's terms would have been fatal to the Catholic interest, and knowing as he did that the mass of the people would be faithful to their King, he advised him to remain on the island until conditions favourable to the Catholics should be agreed to. But this was not the intention of the protector of the Church Missionary Society and of the Protestant and Mahometan interest, so he waited until he could concentrate his forces, and attack the island under some plea or other. This attack he thus describes :

In the night of the 28th, the Catholics made an attack on a Protestant chief near the lake and burnt his place. Consequently on the morning of the 30th the Protestants went down to attack the island. Captain Williams accompanied them with the Maxim to cover their landing. The island is only some five or six hundred yards from the mainland, and the Maxim prevented the Catholics from making any combined attack. Captain Williams, in fact, utterly defeated them by the Maxim fire. They fought very bravely, but soon fled, at least those who had any canoes to do so. We found that all the French priests were on the island, though Monseigneur had told me, and since written to the same effect, that they were leaving for Sesse on a prior date. Monseigneur fled with the King. The other Fathers had an extremely narrow escape of their lives, for the Waganda were now still more enraged against them. Such property as they had on the island (which I understand was very little indeed) was lost, together with all the King's goods. The whole of the women and children of the French party were made captives, all their goods were looted, very many were killed, and many canoes sunk.

The details of this massacre (for it was nothing else) are judiciously covered under the phrase that the crowd of helpless natives were "utterly defeated by the Maxim fire." We will now give Mgr. Hirth's letter on the subject. The attack, be it

remembered, was made quite unexpectedly, while negotiations were going on. Captain Lugard, finding that he could not induce the King to put himself in his hands by persuasion, was guilty of a shameful massacre of the Catholics of Uganda, without any warning, and with no reason for attacking them save the vague accusation of an attack made by some Catholics on the hut of one of the Protestant chiefs. Mgr. Hirth gives us more details than Captain Lugard would find it prudent to insert :

On the 30th I saw fifteen boats rapidly approach the island. All of a sudden the bullets began to rain upon the royal hut, making a terrible noise in the copse that surrounded us ; it was the Maxim mitrailleuse, which joined its fire to that of the boats loaded with soldiers. The King seized me by the hand and dragged me away ; if we were not riddled it was the Lord who shielded us. A crowd of women and children fled with us. How many fell ! We had soon gained the other shore of the island ; the bullets could no longer reach us. But what a sight ! Just a few canoes, and a crowd of three or four thousand throwing themselves into the water to cling to them ; it was heartbreaking. What shrieks ! What a fusillade ! What deaths by drowning ! The King was pushed into a boat ; I had to follow him in without ever thinking of my six colleagues I was leaving behind. We were soon in open water, whence we saw the flames that marked the presence of the enemy in the island. It was disputed foot by foot. Gabriel and all the rest of our bravest—Fundî, Kangao, Kaggo—were there. They drew to a head on the wooded crest of the island, and were under fire the whole night.

And the Fathers ! I have not seen them since. I am told that at the first firing they also rushed for the boats ; only one remained. They leapt inside, and filled it with Christians until the boat broke at the side. Once more they resigned themselves to death ; I am told that they themselves went first, avoiding a *mêlée* with the fighters. They were able to surrender to the Bagandas before being wounded, and these, moved by certain shreds of humanity, contented themselves with looting them of all they possessed, even taking their hats. The children were utterly despoiled ; they were dragged in the water to the first boats, and set upon the mainland, where they found the Captain. They were conducted to the Fort, where they are prisoners. Under favour of the night all who had not been killed on the island were taken by the boats to the mainland.

The King fled southwards, and the missionaries with him :

All of us then slowly proceeded to the Kagera and the German frontier. It is not exile, but rather a new fatherland for us, for an

immense emigration, beginning from the frontier of Unyoro and the banks of the Nile, has followed us for several days. The whole of Buddu has become a Catholic province; the Protestants, though ten times more numerous, have been driven out. God only knows how this terrible trial will end for us. I have trust in Him, and in the holy martyrs of Uganda. Humanly speaking, all our hopes seem destroyed. Our people are dispersed. Many chiefs have been killed (they wished to strike them all, according to the Anglican minister, in order to draw the people *en masse* to Protestantism), all our stations ruined, our churches burnt, and women and children dragged off by the thousand. Even the Mahometans never made so many slaves. All baptisms are postponed. Over five thousand persons would this year have completed their four years of probation, and fifty thousand catechumens would still have been there. Nevertheless, I trust that God will awaken faith on the Nyanza, in spite of the endeavours of the East Africa Company to bring us under the Mussulman yoke. The last letters from Captain Lugard to Mwanga threatened to surrender Uganda to Mboge, King of the Mussulman Baganda. All the European conferences have not prevented these sad events. If Mwanga had for one year been free to act as he liked, there would at present have been no Mussulman State here, and no more slave-trade.

Such is the sad story and its fatal effects on the spread of the Gospel in Uganda and the surrounding country. We have now to examine further into the evidence as to the respective trustworthiness of the accounts of the Protestant filibuster and the Catholic Bishop.

We have already seen that Bishop Livinhac shows clearly that many of the statements by which Captain Lugard shields himself from the blame of the Uganda outrages are entirely incorrect, founded on his own unjust suspicions, or on false evidence derived from his Mahometan allies. We shall also see that recent despatches from East Africa corroborate what Bishop Livinhac has said. Captain Lugard maintains that the Catholics are responsible for the Uganda civil war, and to them is attached the shame and the blame. This does not accord with what he said on the 12th of February to Father Guillermann. For in his diary Father Guillermann records that on that day he with Father Gandibert visited Captains Lugard and Williams, and said to them that before Europe the responsibility of the blood that had been shed will rest upon them. Williams replied in French that they accepted all the responsibility. "Then, sirs," said the Father, "am I to understand that it is you Europeans that waged the war against the Baganda



Catholics?" "Yes," both the Captains answered, and gave him to understand that the object of the war was to avenge a personal insult offered to Captain Lugard in the King's palace.

Again, Captain Lugard states that the Catholic missionaries were well treated in prison. A very different tale is told in a letter published in Zanzibar, of which here is an extract:

The news from Uganda is not only sad, but also incredible. You will already have received all the details of the massacre of the Uganda Catholics by the Protestants, led by Captains Lugard and Williams. On January 30th, Father Superior Guillermann and Fathers Levesque, Moullec (who was seriously ill), Moussin, Gandibert, and Amans, all of the Rubaga Mission Station in Uganda, were arrested by Captain Williams and shut up in the fort of Kampala. They were treated with great indignity, and even deprived of their head-covering in the fiercest heat.

The truth of this letter is borne out by a letter (dated Feb. 2) written by Father Guillermann in his captivity in Kampala Prison, and published at Berlin in the *Koelnische Volkszeitung*.

Captain Lugard has asked us to promise not to try and escape from Kampala. I will ask him to allow four missionaries to leave. We are treated as if we were the vilest of mankind. The English are aiding the Waganda tribes to ridicule us. What a disgrace to France to see her countrymen imprisoned in an English Fort, and treated like common criminals. I do not know the names of the numerous victims of the massacres. Captain Williams boasts that he has sunk six boats with his cannon. The hunt after women and children on the island of Bulingugwé was incredibly barbarous. The Maxim guns hurled thousands of bullets among our poor Christians. With my own eyes I have seen rifles placed at the breasts of children who were thus murdered, and also helpless women dragged away and beaten. This happened while the English cannons were firing and Christians were falling under the eyes of Captain Williams. The chase after slaves continues. The island is covered with dead and wounded. More than one thousand women and children have been enslaved. Captain Williams has himself told me that he intends to annihilate the party of Mwanga. Father Moullec is very ill. The English leave us in complete destitution. We were plundered and insulted under the eyes of Captain Williams as he stood behind his cannon like a proud warrior.

Again, Captain Lugard accuses the French priests of setting Mwanga against him and his Protestant party, and so bringing about the war. This is a false charge. For until he came Catholics and Protestants lived on terms of Christian charity.

It was he who by his domineering ways sowed the seeds of discord among those that were quiet in the land, and enkindled the fire which caused the flames of civil war. The *Debats* bears this out when it says :

Then came Captain Lugard with the troops of the East African Company. He puts on the airs of a conqueror, terrorizes Mwanga, treats the Catholics as enemies. Of course quarrels arose, but how does he know that the Catholics were the aggressors, since, ignorant of the native tongue, he knew what happened only through Mussulman interpreters and Protestant missionaries? Moreover, in the letter written on the morrow of the massacre, he owned that he had no personal opinion.

Again, on his return in July from Central Africa, the head of the Katanga Expedition, the Marquis of Bonchamps, gave the lie to Captain Lugard's story. For he said to the correspondent of a French paper on landing at Marseilles, "It is Captain Lugard who has destroyed our missions and shot down our Catholics. The troubles of Uganda have been a *vast Anglican St. Bartholomew's day*. Lugard can disavow it. But he laid out for himself a certain stroke of policy, and he has attained his end." The Marquis also and Dr. Moloney, on board the homeward bound *Ava*, assured the writer of this article that the general belief of unbiassed men throughout Central Africa and in Zanzibar is that Captain Lugard and his Protestant party are responsible for the Uganda outrages, and that the English papers have been entirely misled.

It must be borne in mind in reading the Captain's report that he was completely ignorant of the language, and all the information on which his statements are based was obtained second-hand, and brought to him, moreover, by Mahometan interpreters, known enemies of the Christian name. For this reason he has at least the candour to qualify many of his statements with words such as: "It is told me," "I believe," &c. Bishop Hirth, knowing this, charitably made allowances for his misstatements when he said: "I do not accuse the English officers; they have only let themselves be too easily deceived by the (Protestant) Bagandas, who are instigated by the Protestant ministers."

The following paragraph from the *Debats* shows the value set upon Captain Lugard's plausible story by those to whom the real facts are known :



If the Company thinks [it says] that these documents are of a sort to relieve its agents of responsibility for the massacre of January, it is delusion on its part. They add nothing to what was already known. They are nothing more than a plea, leisurely written, designedly leaving dark a certain number of interesting facts, and in no way weakening the version of Mgr. Hirth.

Add to this that the Bishop's report carries with it the power of conviction, for it is no special pleading, no self-defence or justification of his actions. It is a simple, clear exposition of that terrible drama that was acted in his presence in the land of Uganda. He does not describe it all sitting comfortably at home in *Maison-Carrée*, but he was himself an eye-witness, an actor and sufferer in the tragedy which he relates so graphically. He was at the time in the midst of his own flock, as a good shepherd among the sheep, witnessing and himself sharing all they endured and suffered. He needed not hostile interpreters, for he knew the real state of things on account of the intimate knowledge he had of their language, and his relation to them as their shepherd. The former of these two facts renders his testimony of a value indefinitely greater than that of the English stranger. Bishop Hirth was, moreover, well inclined to England and all things English before the recent occurrences. Though French by birth, he hailed the British flag, knowing that under its protection Catholics in our days enjoy freedom and justice. He evidently writes under a sense of bitter disappointment. The *Church Missionary Intelligencer* questions the accuracy of his report, because, they argue, it was written in the heat of the moment, and therefore liable to be heavily charged with exaggerations and misrepresentations. This argument will not hold. For three weeks after his first official report he wrote another which is at present before us, but which has never been published. It exactly embodies the facts contained in his first report.

Many other documents have reached us which confirm Bishop Hirth's statements; the most corroborative one is Père Guillermand's clear and exact remarkable diary, which contains minute entries of the terrible events which happened in Uganda from January 19th to March 19th. In it he records for the 30th of January the cold-blooded massacre of Bulingugwé, and ends it with these words: "Shameful to say, Captain Williams has opened his Maxim guns upon women and children in an island from whence they were unable to fly." He records in this

diary also a most touching incident. At the moment when five hundred of Captain William's men armed with Snider and Maxim guns were firing volleys of shots amongst the Catholics, Fundi Kisule, one of the best Catholic chiefs, appeared on one of the highest rocks, and brandishing his gun, cried out: "All you who wish to die for your religion, unite yourselves with me." Fifteen Baganda Catholics at once climbed up to the rock, and there with their crosses and rosaries around their necks awaited the palm of martyrdom.

But there was a limit even to the barbarity of Captain Lugard and his associates, and Father Guillermand shows the unbiassed character of his report by his acknowledgment that though for a time the slaughter was indiscriminate, cruel, and atrocious, yet when Captain Williams saw him, with other Fathers, surrounded with a crowd of panic-stricken women and children, and heard his cry of "Spare them! Spare them!" they laid down their arms and stopped the indiscriminate slaughter.

There are also letters from Father Lourdel, Father Achte, and T. Couilland, for which we have no space here, but which all bear out Bishop Hirth's story, and prove the trustworthy nature of his account.

We will now sum up in chronological order the past horrors and present wrongs perpetrated against the Baganda Catholics by the agents of the East Africa Company:

1. The slaughter of Catholics in the city of Mengo on January 25th, when their homes and churches were barbarously given up to fire and flame.
2. The horrible massacre of them in Bulungugwé Island, where they were unable to escape.
3. The attack upon the Catholic Chief Sikibobo, and the enslavement of all the defenceless women and children who were trying with him to escape by the north from the horrors of the battle.
4. Lastly, the massacre of the Catholics of Sésé, which has been graphically described by the pen of Father Achte, the Catholic missionary of that island, where he ministered to 4,000 catechumens, but which we are obliged to omit here.

We now come to the present condition of affairs: a disgrace to the British Flag and a strange reversal of the justice and impartiality which we look for in the representatives of England. The last news from the Kingdom of Uganda says that the East Africa Company invited Mwanga to return to

Uganda on the following unfair and intolerable conditions, which we have since learnt have unhappily been accepted.

I. Mwanga must declare himself English, that is to say, Protestant.

II. He must be surrounded only by Pagans.

III. He must hoist the flag of the East Africa Company.

IV. The King and the Catholics must pay the war expenses.

V. No mission-station must be established without the previous assent of the Directors of the East Africa Company.

These intolerant laws are not only contrary to the decision of the Congress of Berlin and of Brussels, but also to the treaty signed two years ago by the agents of the Company and Mwanga. They trample under foot the liberty of conscience and the independence of nations. They revive in Darkest Africa the penal laws which existed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and under Cromwell in England. As the Test Act of 1671 incapacitated English Catholics from holding high offices of State, so these new laws of the East Africa Company cut off Baganda Catholics from holding State offices, and render it impossible for the King and his staff of attendants and statesmen to be Christians.

The horrible Uganda drama, which has made Dark Africa still darker is now a scene of the past and cannot be undone. But let me suggest remedies for actual evils.

1. We strongly advise the White Fathers to petition the British Government to oblige the East Africa Company in justice to pay them an indemnity for the brutal policy which has driven them from their homes and flocks, destroyed the fruits of their twelve years' missionary labours, and reduced them and their people to extreme want and misery.<sup>1</sup>

2. We suggest that the White Fathers petition the English Government to annul these unjust laws and not allow a trading company to disgrace her flag by trampling under foot the liberty of nations. Such a precedent as is involved in the recent troubles will have a fatal effect upon the future freedom of religious belief. This is admitted by the *Madagascar News* of July 30, which says :

The Uganda Question has a far greater importance than hitherto has been generally considered. It has no local significance. It is not

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above I have noticed the following paragraph in the second report of Mgr. Hirth, dated March 6, 1892, which bears out this suggestion : "As to the loss of property to which we have been so unjustly subjected, the Company of Mombasa ought to be sentenced to pay at least *twenty thousand pounds* damages."

merely a quarrel between two native communities of converts. Far wider than this are the consequences of the sanguinary struggle. The whole question of foreign mission work in rival spheres of political influence is involved. The future of the freedom of religious belief in newly Christianized countries is at stake, and practically in a double sense, now the British policy in Uganda has lighted the fires of intolerance. Unless the British world intervenes and compels politicians, even in their land hunger to respect, as it were, the sacredness of Consecrated Bread, the sacredness of territory consecrated by religious labours of many scores of years, the missionaries will not have brought to the "benighted heathen" "a message of peace and good-will," they will have brought them "a message of religious civil war." The "benighted heathen" will find that he has been roused from his sleep of ages but to witness a lurid dawn which bathes earth and heaven in blood-red hues.

3. Lastly, it would be a gracious act on the part of English Catholics if they would unite to send to Cardinal Lavigerie some recognition of their deep sympathy with him and his brave missionaries of Uganda in this their hour of bitter trial; and some public protest against the wrongs and cruelties they have met with from men who represent, not the English Government, but a private trading company which is actuated in its policy by a desire not to Christianize the poor African heathen but to amass the wealth of this world.

In ending, let me say that I have been moved to write this sad story of the Uganda tragedy by no other desire than that of following these words of Ecclesiasticus: "Strive for justice, and even unto death fight for justice."

Since the above was written, a deputation of the Church Missionary Society have waited upon Lord Rosebery to try and induce the English Government to undertake the protection of the British East Africa Company, and so to avert its intended withdrawal from Uganda. The representations, or rather we should say the misrepresentations, made to the Foreign Minister, were, we need hardly say, complete perversion of the facts. When the Company was established, "attacks were made (we quote the reported speech of Sir John Kennaway, who introduced the deputation) upon the native Protestants by the Catholic party, and *the missionaries were obliged to identify themselves with the interests and welfare of their converts*. The result was that they undertook responsibilities which, if the British power as represented by the East Africa Company was withdrawn, would, in the opinion of Captain Lugard, lead to terrible consequences in the shape of bloodshed, murder, and

slavery." In other words, Captain Lugard had established a reign of terror, and feared that if he was compelled to withdraw his Mahometan soldiers with their rifles and Maxim guns, the King's authority would be re-established, and the rebels against him would meet with their deserts.

The Rev. R. Lang, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, who followed, asserted that when the report was spread of the intended withdrawal of the Company, an internecine feud broke out between the Protestants and Catholics, and had it not been for Captain Lugard's interference many European lives would have been sacrificed and the conflict indefinitely prolonged. Quiet, however, had been restored, and the King had placed himself in the hands of British officers. That is, he had been terrorized into abjuring his faith and submitting to the injustice and tyranny forced upon him by Captain Lugard, as the only alternative if he was to retain his kingdom. Other members of the deputation stated that the number of Roman Catholics had greatly diminished since the establishment of Protestant influence. No wonder, when we read of the hundreds barbarously massacred by Captain Lugard and his mitrailleuses, and hundreds more driven into exile!

In reply to these and other similar statements Lord Rosebery pertinently asked how the two parties, the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, managed to live in peace before the East Africa Company came to the country. The Rev. Mr. Lang pretended that the friction was the result of the King having come under Roman Catholic influence, but confessed that he (the King) had only become a Protestant for political purposes!

Happily, Lord Rosebery seems to have some idea of the true state of the case, and we hope that he will before these pages meet our readers' eyes, have received fuller and more reliable information than the gross misstatements of the enemies of the Catholic Church. If the establishment of British influence meant the presence of an impartial and fair-minded agent of the Government, the case would be very different, but if it is to mean the tyranny of an unscrupulous adventurer, ignorant of the language and in the pay of the Protestants, trusting to Mahometan agents, and determined to crush the Catholic faith by violence, may God deliver the poor Bagandas from it!

KENELM VAUGHAN.

### *The Grindelwald Conference.*

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DURING the last few weeks the eyes of those interested in the eccentricities of Anglicanism have been directed towards the Grindelwald Conference. In that beautiful Swiss valley a motley party had assembled, of which the principal characters were Dr. Perowne, Bishop of Worcester, Professor Stokes, of Dublin, and Professor Lias, of Cambridge, to represent the Established Church: Père Hyacinthe and Pastor Monod to represent French Protestantism: Dr. Lunn, Dr. Stephenson, Mr. Hugh Price Hughes and others to represent Methodism: Rev. Charles Berry to represent the Congregationalists: while the Baptists also were represented by some of their number. The object which had drawn together in conference birds so unaccustomed to flock together was, under the inspiration of the glorious mountain scenery, to thresh out some practical scheme of fusing these various sects into a common communion. "Reunion" is in the air just at present. Even the Dissenters are beginning to feel that the existence of a hundred warring sects, each claiming best to represent the true form of the Christian religion, is not an edifying spectacle; while the Anglicans, unable to extract concessions to their liking from unyielding and unfeeling Rome, are constrained to look elsewhere for brethren into whose arms they may rush with the embrace of a common faith. The High Church party took of course no part in the conference; it savoured far too much of the Protestantism which they disavow. Nevertheless "Home Reunion" is an article of their programme, and it seems to us, as we propose to show, that they cannot reasonably disengage themselves from responsibility for the Grindelwald proceedings. But we must first narrate and then comment.

It would seem as if the course of events entered into the spirit of the hour, for by some accident the Bishop of Worcester arrived late, with the result that it fell to the Wesleyan

Dr. Lunn to arrange ministers for the Anglican as well as for the Wesleyan and other services, which in turn invited the attendance of the Anglicans of this harmonious party. The Bishop, however, arrived soon afterwards, and the sessions began. Various subjects came up for discussion. We must pass them all over save one, the question of the conditions on which reunion, as distinguished from preliminary co-operation in works of charity, could be hoped for. It fell to the Bishop of Worcester to start the discussion with a timid suggestion having the advantage of requiring no official act on the part of the Anglican body, whilst seeming to meet the demands of the Nonconformist mind. Let us hear him.

The question to be considered was—is it possible for Nonconformist bodies as Churches, and as each having their separate organism, to be reunited in any form whatever to the National Church of England? In reply to this the Bishop referred to the text of the proposals made by the Bishops in the Lambeth Conference in 1888. The desire in framing these four articles was only to insist on essentials and to leave a large liberty of interpretation. Yet even this was refused by many Nonconformists, and one of the organs of the Baptist body said: "Our contention is that upon the ordinances the Anglican Church has departed from the faith. We can consent to no union which would express connivance with the soul-destroying error on the subject of baptism, which is the first lesson of the Catechism of the Church of England." He would point out in reply that what was called "the soul-destroying error" was repudiated by a large section, probably half, of the members of the Church of England itself. He would put it earnestly to his Nonconformist friends—Were they justified in putting that interpretation upon the formularies and Articles of the Church of England which was only put upon them by the extreme High Church party? Would it not be quite possible for them to unite with the Church of England and yet to maintain all those views of sacramental grace which they now maintained, and which were held and maintained by a large section of English Churchmen? With regard to the condition that the historic episcopate should be accepted, if there was to be reunion, it was plain that there must be one form of government, otherwise there might be union, but not reunion. If they were to be one body they must have a common faith, a common organization, and a common worship. From the reports of the former session of the Grindelwald Conference he noted that the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes was prepared to accept an episcopate as the condition of reunion. And his friend, the Rev. Edward White, had said to him that if they were to go back to the primitive government of the Church he believed they must have a Bishop (*viz.*, a



presiding elder) in every large town. And he believed that there were many Nonconformists who would not be repelled from episcopacy but for the extravagant claims which were urged by many Churchmen on its behalf. With regard to the episcopal ordination the Bishop said that certainly the Church of England had nowhere in her Articles or formularies asserted that this was necessary to the existence of a Church or the validity of the sacraments. There was nothing in the Prayer Book to lend colour to the belief that the episcopal ordination was the only valid ordination, or that the graces of the sacraments were tied to such ordination. It was important to be clear on that point. The Church of England preferred an episcopacy, but she did not condemn Presbyterianism. In support of this view he quoted an array of great divines of the Church of England—Jewel, Hooker, Wyclif, Andrews, Bramhall, Cosin, Hall, Sancroft, Wake, Tenison, all of whom had admitted that there might be a valid ministry without episcopal government. From this the Bishop concluded that existing Nonconformist ministers might be accepted as properly ordained without their accepting the doctrine of Apostolic succession. The question was one of order, not of doctrine. Unhappily, since the Act of Uniformity in 1662 the Church of England had been placed in great disadvantage in any attempt to deal with other Protestant Churches; her hands were tied. It was hopeless to look for reunion of the Church of England with the Nonconformist Churches except on the condition that their ministers shall submit to ordination by Church of England Bishops. And this, he feared, made all hope of reunion for the present impossible. But all this did not prevent meetings like this Conference being held and being useful. Such gatherings were a step in the right direction, and from them might result a better understanding of differences and such co-operation as would leave room for the cultivation of all the graces of the spirit.<sup>1</sup>

This offer was favourably entertained by the Nonconformist speakers, who while, of course, strong in their aversion to sacerdotalism, that is, the doctrine of a mysterious power in the priesthood, revealed a rather unexpected attraction for the episcopal system, as a system of governmental efficacy and convenience. Only one difficulty seemed to them serious. What about the *status* of the existing Nonconformist ministers? Future candidates could submit to episcopal ordination, if it were made clear that in so doing they did not commit themselves to any sacerdotalism, but existing ministers could not well submit themselves to this process without casting a slur upon their own previous ordination or dedication according to the methods of

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, September 8, 1892.



their own sect, and yet, unless they received Anglican ordination, the Act of Uniformity blocks their entrance to Anglican pulpits and altars, and Anglican benefices.

One obvious way out of the difficulty would be to try Disestablishment, and the Nonconformists were not slow to point this out, although it was naturally not pleasing to the Bishop of Worcester. Another way, hinted at by the Bishop, would be to repeal (or suspend) the Act of Uniformity, although he naturally feared such a measure would not be feasible, as the Liberation party would probably oppose it as making Disendowment, their real ulterior aim, the more difficult. Another scheme which does not seem to have occurred to the Conference, perhaps because of the personal sacrifices it would require of the existing Nonconformist ministers, would be to continue present arrangements for a while, except that Nonconformists might be freely encouraged by their ministers to seek the sacrament at Anglican communion-tables, and those Anglicans who liked might in turn receive in Nonconformist chapels. In course of time the present generation of non-episcopally ordained ministers will die out, and then the chapels over which they presided could pass into Anglican hands, whether as chapels of ease, or as distinct churches. Such an arrangement would be real reunion, and we make the contracting parties a present of the idea. For the essence of corporate union lies in admissibility to the sacraments of the incorporating body, not in admissibility to the ranks of its ministry, and there does not seem to be any law, civil or ecclesiastical, to bar entrance to the sacrament of those who cannot sign the Articles. We know indeed of the rubric at the end of the Confirmation Service: "And there shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed." But a rubric like this may well be taken as directive, not preceptive, and there are many instances on record, besides that of Dr. Perowne, of the greater, not to speak of the lesser, lights of Anglicanism administering to members of non-episcopal churches. Thus, according to a writer in *The Times* (Sept. 23), Archbishop Laud, a particular favourite with High Churchmen, "insisted that the native-born members of the foreign congregations in Kent should receive the Blessed Eucharist sometimes every year in their parish churches, agreeing, however, with the wish of the King and Privy Council, that it might be permitted

for them to resort occasionally to the foreign (non-episcopal) churches." And after all, why should even High Churchmen wish to keep them away, if willing to come? Would they keep away Dr. Perowne and "the large section of the Church of England" who think with him, are in general agreement with Nonconformists on doctrinal matters, and would not object in an emergency to receive the sacrament in a Nonconformist chapel? Would they keep away the Queen, for instance, on account of her occasional communions at Crathie? and if not, why keep away Dr. Lunn, Mr. Berry, and Mr. Hugh Price Hughes?

If, then, the Home Reunionists would only bear in mind the undoubted truth that corporate union is through admissibility to the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, the only two they acknowledge, would it not bring with it the consoling consciousness that the longed-for reunion can become at once an accomplished fact, and that in truth it received its solemn inauguration on the Sunday of the Conference. In reference to that day *The Times* (Sept. 12) tells us that

A most interesting service was held here this morning in the Zwnglian parish church, when the Bishop of Worcester administered Holy Communion, according to the order of the Church of England, to the members of the Reunion Conference. His lordship was assisted by Canon Robinson, Dublin; Professor Stokes, Dublin; and the Rev. B. Lamb, Leeds. Among the communicants were Herr Strasse, Pastor of Grindelwald; the Rev. Dr. Stephenson, ex-President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference; Rev. Dr. Lunn; Rev. Charles Berry, Wolverhampton; Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, London; and Pastor Theodore Monod, Paris; and many other leading ministers and laymen, both Anglican and Nonconformist. The Rev. Dr. Stephenson preached at the afternoon service, while in the evening a sermon was delivered by Pastor Monod.

What wonder that the Bishop of Worcester, in a subsequent letter to *The Times*, should say, "I shall always rejoice that I was invited to take part in the Conference," and that "none can have witnessed that scene" (of the Sunday's communion) "unmoved"! Certainly, did we share the Bishop's views as to the nature of the Church and the contents of the Christian revelation, we should find ourselves in complete accord with the feelings which he experienced on that eventful day. We think also that if we not only shared the Bishop's views but held his position in the Establishment, we should at once take

measures to build on the Grindelwald foundation. Why not follow it up with a grand gathering of Nonconformists and Evangelical Anglicans commingled in large numbers around the communion-table in Worcester Cathedral? The Nonconformist ministers could not, of course, officiate in the Cathedral, but they might have sermons and communions in their neighbouring chapels which Churchmen could attend along with Nonconformists just as at the Cathedral. And if from the pulpits on both sides lamentations over the Act of Uniformity were uttered, the way would be prepared for its repeal, and in the meantime the sting of its offence against Nonconformist dignity extracted. Why not make such a gathering as this an annual event, and thereby set the tone to others who would in many places take it up? In this manner "Home Reunion" on the Grindelwald lines might soon take practical shape, without any wounding of the Nonconformist conscience or any infringement of the law or of the letter, whether of Articles or Liturgy.

But what lessons does this Conference point to the High Church party? We would suggest to them that they should estimate it in its relation to the Lincoln Judgments. The High Churchmen have rejoiced to obtain through these decisions legal sanction, civil as well as ecclesiastical, for the main features of their ritual. But if all these ritual observances have been permitted, by the Archbishop no less than by the Judicial Committee, they are permitted only on the ground that they are without the doctrinal meaning which Ritualism desires to set upon them. Indeed the two judgments are less favourable to the Ritualists even than this. The judgments do not deal directly with doctrines; but there is an implication concerning doctrines throughout, and the implication is that the true doctrinal system of the "Church of England" is that known as Protestant, is that of the Low Church party. The ceremonies in dispute are allowed because they are susceptible of an interpretation on the lines of this system. "We do not go into the question of your beliefs," say the two courts, "these not having been brought under our judicial cognizance. All we say is, that your ceremonies are not absolutely incompatible with the Protestant beliefs we should have to require if you had been indicted on a doctrinal charge." Obviously a judgment of this nature is more favourable to the Evangelicals than to the Anglicans. If all the High Churchmen desired were freedom

to hold a few Catholic dogmas and express them in Catholic ritual, the judgment must be deemed wholly in their favour. But if their anxiety is to vindicate for their communion the character of a true branch of the Catholic Church speaking with a Catholic voice and throwing the weight of its authority on the side of Catholic doctrine, the judgment must be deemed as adverse as any that have preceded. It is essentially Protestant, and so eventually it will be felt.

Now the Grindelwald Conference by its occurrence just now comes in as a practical reminder that the Lincoln Judgment is in the right and that the Establishment is Protestant, not Catholic. Just at the time when High Churchmen are jubilant over their triumph they are made to see how unreal it is. Just at the moment when they are striving to persuade themselves that the ecclesiastical courts have spoken with a Catholic voice, a respected Bishop of their communion takes two Catholic doctrines of the most vital and radical importance, the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration and the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession, and assures his Nonconformist friends that he and a large section of the English clergy neither accept these doctrines nor find them in their authoritative formularies.

Nor do his words belong to the merely speculative order. They are an assurance offered to the leading Nonconformist bodies with the object of inducing them to fuse with the Anglican community on their own terms. "Why do you stay outside," he says, "when there is no doctrinal ground for the separation? All that you now believe, you can continue to believe after joining us. Unfortunately, until we can repeal the Act of Uniformity, you may not hold benefices or administer sacraments amongst us. But in the meanwhile, why should you not accept a disciplinary arrangement, which has a hoary antiquity and a great practical utility to commend it? For remember you would in no sense be committed to the absurd doctrinal interpretation put upon the Episcopal system by the High Church party. It is true that objectionable interpretation is in favour among a certain section of our clergy, but they do this only on their private responsibility, and have no sufficient reasons for imputing it to our Church." The Articles, the 23rd and 36th, are studiously worded so as to throw no slur on non-Episcopal ordinations, and—

When we remember that the 36th Article, of Ministering in the Congregation, was drawn up at a conference between Anglican and

Lutheran divines, it is difficult to understand how any one can contend that the Church of England asserts that Episcopacy is the only lawful form of Church government : still less that it is necessary to the validity of the sacraments. That I believe to be an entirely novel doctrine in our Church, dating from Oxford somewhere about the year 1840.<sup>1</sup>

It may perhaps be said that the Bishop of Worcester is only a single Bishop, and cannot commit his Church. He expressed his private views, and by so doing gave, no doubt, great scandal to all the better instructed and more right-feeling Anglicans. But the views he expressed were completely wrong, completely opposed to the authoritative formularies of his Church, and can never therefore become the basis of any true and accepted corporate reunion between Churchmen and Dissenters.

Now it is all very well to say this in an irresponsible way. But is it so clear that the Bishop is in conflict and not rather in harmony with the Anglican formularies? Would any High Churchman venture to test the matter by bringing the Bishop into court, into the Archbishop's of course in the first instance, and then if he could overcome his antipathies, before the Judicial Committee? Is there any doubt that if there were such a legal investigation, the resultant judgments of both courts would be in the Bishop's favour, and that in no evasive language, such as we have lately heard, but in bold, straightforward terms?

Nor is this the only test at hand whereby the Bishop of Worcester may be shown to be a true exponent of the teaching and feeling of his Church. The Bishop has reminded us in his letter to *The Times*, that he took as the text of his speech the Lambeth proposals of 1888. We have only to turn to the Lambeth Encyclical to see how thoroughly it supports his action. In view of this very question of Home Reunion, for which the Lambeth Fathers expressed an earnest desire, they suggested the following articles as supplying a basis on which an approach might be made to the Nonconformists :

The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as "containing all things necessary to salvation," and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith ; and the Apostles' Creed as the baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith ; the two sacraments ordained by Christ Himself, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of

<sup>1</sup> Letter to *The Times*.

institution and of the elements ordered by Him; of the historic Episcopate locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called by God into the unity of the Church.

No Creed, as Bishop Perowne notices, is here required more stringent than that of Nicene. There is not a word about the Thirty-nine Articles, or liturgy, or rites and ceremonies. They imposed no doctrine of the sacraments, but only an observance of them as instituted by Christ. Even the Episcopate which they required was the "historic" (not dogmatic) "Episcopate, and did not necessarily involve any doctrine of Apostolical succession." The Rev. Herbert Hensley Henson<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following letter from *The Times* of September 23 is worth preserving as showing what were the views of former generations of Anglicans on the necessity of the episcopal system :

"*Str.*—The Bishop of Worcester points out that many well-known Anglican divines supported the validity of non-episcopal ordinations. Not only is this the case, but Anglican preferments have, in many instances, been held by ministers who were never episcopally ordained.

"Thus Saravia, who never was episcopally ordained, was Rector of Great Chart, in Kent, and was Prebendary of Gloucester, Canterbury, and Westminster. Hooker himself received the last consolations of religion, when dying, from Saravia.

"Casaulon, a Swiss Protestant, was likewise a prebendary, without any episcopal ordination. Bishop Andrews administered the Anglican sacrament to him just as Bishop Perowne has communicated Protestant Nonconformists at Grindelwald.

"Du Moulin, a French Presbyterian, received similar ecclesiastical honours in the Church of England and used to give the sacrament to James I. Du Moulin had no episcopally given orders.

"Morton, Bishop of Durham, refused to re-ordain a foreign Presbyterian who was nominated to certain Anglican benefices.

"Some other facts, in support of Bishop Perowne's views, may be added. Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, in consecrating bishops for Scotland, in 1610, said that their ordination as Presbyterians must be esteemed lawful. These Scotch bishops received no episcopal ordination as priests, and Andrews took part in their consecration.

"Bishop Heber, of Calcutta, avowed his readiness, were he to return to Germany, to avail himself of the sacraments of the Lutheran Church.

"Mr. Keble admitted that the early Anglican divines did not urge the exclusive claim of the government by Archbishop or Bishop, or connect the succession with the validity of the sacraments.

"Macaulay tells us that Anglican Bishops took part in the Synod of Dort and voted with its members; also that not before 1661 did the Church of England consider episcopal ordination indispensable for preferment.

"Andrews, writing to Du Moulin, an unepiscopally ordained Anglican dignitary, acknowledges the Presbyterian communion as true Churches, and Bramhall said that their communion possessed the true nature and essence of a Church.

"The Bishop of Worcester may certainly claim to have weighty and respectable Anglican authorities to support him in the line his Lordship has taken at the Grindelwald Conference.

"I am Sir, &c., "M.A. OXON."



takes it as quite certain that their use of the phrase "historic episcopate" was understood by the Lambeth prelates to exact acceptance of the doctrine of Apostolical succession. Of course these prelates *more suo* used equivocal language. But the natural contrast is between "historic" and "dogmatic," just as Bishop Perowne takes it. He does not seem therefore to have gone a whit beyond the Lambeth conditions in his overtures at Grindelwald, and the Nonconformists seemed to think there was little in these terms to which they need take exception. Mr. Hugh Price Hughes called them "large and liberal terms," and that was the general view.

Moreover, the Lambeth prelates in their Encyclical addressed an earnest request to the "constituted authorities of the various branches of the Anglican communion"—

To hold themselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference . . . with the representatives of other Christian communions among the English-speaking races, in order to consider what steps can be taken either towards separate reunion or towards such relations as may prepare the way for fuller organic unity hereafter.

The articles just cited from the Encyclical are obviously drawn up for the guidance of such "constituted authorities" as may desire to carry out the suggestion offered, and enable them "to act, as far as may be, in concert with one another."

And so the poor Bishop of Worcester, who has been so severely scolded for his action, has after all been merely carrying out the suggestion of the Lambeth Fathers in entire fidelity to the lines they laid down with full deliberation.

What are the High Churchmen going to say to this? Can they evade the fact that it is with the Lambeth prelates they have to reckon, not with the Bishop of Worcester only? That it is they more than he who have held out a hand of friendship at Grindelwald? Can they deny that the hand is Protestant, not Catholic, even in the attenuated sense of the word Catholic? And yet let them consider what this acknowledgment to which they are compelled involves. The Lambeth Conferences have always been contemplated with delight by High Churchmen. The imposing array of prelates drawn from remote and widely-separated regions have seemed to invest the Anglican communion with something of the attribute of Catholicity. They are, moreover, assemblages of those who, according to "Catholic" principles, should be the teaching body of their

communion, and who, although met in Conference, not in Synod, and hence lacking coercive power, thereby obtain a grand opportunity of making their teaching known to willing ears. If ever the "living voice" of the entire Anglican communion makes itself audible, it is in a Lambeth Conference. And yet it is this voice which speaks in accents of unmistakable Protestantism, and opens wide the gate of its sacraments to unrepentant Dissenters. If the Grindelwald gathering is to be pronounced Protestant, how can it be denied that the Protestantism there manifested is not the personal Protestantism of a single Bishop, but the Protestantism of the entire Anglican communion?

S. F. S.



## *The Planet Mars.*

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THE burning planet which has recently been glowing on our southern horizon, with a golden, rather than a ruddy flame, is, with the exception of our own satellite, the only one of our celestial neighbours which affords us a glimpse of its true features. Venus, for instance, though approaching us somewhat more nearly, veils her face like an Eastern lady, and it is only her shining cloud vesture, strongly illuminated by the sun, that transmits to us the argent radiance of the morning and evening star. When nearest to us too, she turns her dark side to us, since, moving on an inner circle as compared with the earth, she is then necessarily between us and the sun, and it is only as she retires, that her illuminated side comes into view in a series of phases like those of the moon. When she faces us as a perfect orb, she is not only at the greatest possible distance from us, but is moreover in such close proximity to the sun as to be drowned in his effulgence.

The reverse is the case with Mars, since wheeling in an orbit external to ours, he is nearest when in "opposition," that is, directly opposite to the sun in the heavens, with the earth in a straight line between the two. He is then at the full, and reflects the light of the sun to us, as does a mirror held in the hand the flame of a candle behind us. Were the orbits of both planets perfectly circular, the distance separating them during opposition would be invariable, instead of ranging, as it does, between a maximum of sixty-one and a minimum of thirty-five million miles. The way in which these changes are produced by the marked ellipticity of the orbit of Mars, compared to which that of the earth's is insignificant, may be illustrated by placing two wire rings of different sizes concentrically, and then pulling out the larger one into an elongated oval. So altered, it will close more nearly on the inner one at some points, and depart more widely from it at others, exactly as the path of Mars does with regard to that of the

earth. When the opposition of Mars, bringing the earth in a direct line between him and the sun, coincides, as it did last August, with his greatest possible approach, we have the most favourable conjunction of circumstances for his observation, recurring only at intervals of about fifteen years. He attains, on the other hand, his greatest distance from us, when he and the earth are at opposite sides of the sun, divided from each other by more than two hundred and thirty-four million miles. His brightness, then about equal to that of the pole star, is fifty-three times less than we have lately seen it, when he shone on us with his maximum splendour.

While the facilities thus afforded for the study of the nearest but one of our fellow-travellers round the sun, render him perhaps the most interesting object of telescopic study, it is his supposed analogy to our own planet that appeals most strongly to the curiosity of the unscientific public. Yet his claim on our sympathy as a possible abode of life more or less remotely akin to our own, seems to be rather discredited than reinforced with the improvement of our acquaintance with him. Every discovery raises, instead of solving, a fresh set of problems as to his physical constitution, and adds a new mystery, if it succeeds in setting at rest an old doubt.

His relations to the external universe so far assimilate him to our globe, as that they imply a corresponding change of seasons, his axis of rotation being inclined at practically the same angle to his path round the sun. The light and heat which reach him from the latter too, though less than half that supplied to the earth, may be so economized or supplemented as to furnish a sufficient stimulus to the vital energies of nature. The length of his day, exceeding by little more than half an hour that of ours, is another point of resemblance, and the greater length of his year, consisting of 687 days, or 1 year  $10\frac{1}{2}$  months, need not necessarily imply any considerable difference in physical conditions. The Martian atmosphere is indeed more attenuated than the air we breathe, its pressure on his surface being only a sixth of that exercised by the earth's, but a whole group of characteristics held in common with us are suggested by the presence in it of aqueous vapour, detected by that spy into the secrets of space, the spectroscope. The existence of water in a liquid state on his surface, with the familiar train of atmospheric effects due to evaporation and condensation, the system of circulation of the aerial and sub-aerial moisture, and

all the resulting changes of temperature and weather, constituting the first condition of habitability in a globe like ours, are implied by the establishment of this simple fact.

As a set-off against these terrestrial analogies in our companion planet, his inferiority in size, mass, and density must be taken into account. With a diameter of but 4,200 miles, little more than half that of our globe, his mean density is but seven-tenths, and his total mass but one-tenth of that of the earth. The effect of this comparative feebleness in gravitating power is to diminish the weight of all bodies on his surface, so that a mass weighing here one hundred pounds, would, if transferred to Mars, weigh but thirty-eight pounds. He is thus rather a miniature than a twin of the earth, to which Venus comes much nearer in bulk and density.

But the telescopic study of Mars has revealed resemblances to the conditions familiar to us on the surface of our own planet, which seemed at first sight to counterbalance even these large disparities. As early as 1636 and 1638, the detection by Fontana in Naples, of dark patches more or less permanent in outline, on the ruddy disk of the planet, suggested the features, dimly discerned indeed, of a terraqueous globe. Their stability was sufficient to serve as the basis of a calculation of the planet's period of rotation, determined by Hooke and Cassini in 1666, with substantial accuracy, as twenty-four hours and forty minutes. Maraldi, in 1719, confirmed these observations, and noted a still more striking feature of Martian topography, the presence round either pole of a considerable area of pure white, alternately waxing and waning as if in conformity to the change of seasons. The obvious inference that we thus witnessed the melting and re-formation of Arctic and Antarctic snows at once established a strong presumption of a similarity of climate to our own, and the "snowy poles" of what was then considered to be "moonless Mars," have been among the common-places of the repertory of astronomical facts ever since.

The permanence of the markings on the disk of Mars, and their character as details of his actual surface, were finally demonstrated by the careful studies of Beer and Mädler during five consecutive oppositions, from 1830 to 1839. The accuracy of their maps was confirmed by Mr. Lockyer's observations in 1862, which were "in marvellous agreement" with them as to main features, despite incessant variations in aspect incidental to atmospheric changes.

The surface of the planet as thus presented to us resembles a map rudely sketched in colour, in which tracts of orange yellow or brick red are interspersed with darker shadings of bluish or greyish green. The colours are most marked at the centre of the disk, paling into white at the rim, while each pole is crowned with frosted silver. That these tints are due to true local colour, and not to atmospheric absorption, is shown by their greater intensity in the centre of the hemisphere presented to us, where the intervening aerial veil is thinnest, as well as by the pure white of the polar regions, which form a test of the neutral transparency of the medium through which they are seen. Their aspect also disposes of the hypothesis hazarded to account for the blanching of the rim, that the Martian atmosphere reverses the action of ours, stopping the red, instead of the blue rays, which would result in violet sunsets, and a rose-flushed zenith. The copper design on the bronze medal of the planetary disk is generally assumed to represent the configuration of the land masses, relieved against the more sombre background of the surrounding seas. The hues of both vary, however, with the play of light, as does the terrestrial landscape, and like it, too, are sometimes dimmed and tarnished by the interposition of clouds or wreaths of vapour. They differentiate Mars from all other celestial objects as the only one that shows surface colour, since the sculptured relief of the lunar disk, still more distinctly visible to us, is only thrown out in *chiaroscuro*.

The next great step in our acquaintance with our fellow-traveller, after this first general introduction to his features, was taken during the memorable opposition of 1887. He was then made the subject of close study by a gazer gifted with that supreme power of brain-directed vision, which forms the rare qualification of a first-rate observer. Signor G. V. Schiaparelli, of the Brera Observatory, was engaged in making a trigonometrical survey of Mars, when his attention was arrested by a singular and previously unnoted feature. His so-called continents were seen to be scored with rulings, faint but definite as gossamer threads, running from ocean to ocean, and intersecting each other at all angles, in a network of straight lines, like a geometrical pattern. These were the famous "canals" of Mars, so called, as Mr. Norman Lockyer justly points out in *Nature* for September 8th, through a mistranslation of the Italian name given them by their discoverer. *Canale* in that language means

not only "canal," an artificial, but "channel," a natural water-way, and it was doubtless in this latter sense that it was used by Signor Schiaparelli. Running often for thousands of miles in a straight line, with a uniform breadth of some sixty miles, they are, in fact, a series of channels connecting the Martian seas, and differing from all other natural features in their rigidly rectilinear direction and mathematical regularity of plan. Assuming them to be what they seem, ramifications of the seas, they break up the continents into archipelagoes, and alter our conceptions of a distribution of land and water similar to those prevailing here. This addition to Martian topography suggests rather an interlacing of low-lying shores by shallow lagoons, than a system of vertebrate continents with uplifted masses like ours, thrusting back the waters into their appointed beds.

So strange were the conditions implied by this discovery, that its genuineness, at first doubted, was accepted only when attested by the confirmatory evidence of other observers. But a still more wonderful announcement was made by its author when during an exceptionally favourable season for observation, from December, 1881, to February, 1882, he declared that he saw the canals in twenty or thirty cases in duplicate, forming double instead of single rulings across the continental areas. Again the accuracy of his vision was called in question, and this "gemination," as he calls it, of the canals, ascribed to optical illusion. But confirmation came from the Nice Observatory, possessing the second largest telescope in the world, with which MM. Perrotin and Thollon saw many duplicated channels in 1886, and again, in August last, from the observatory on Mount Hamilton, the one called the "Ganges" being shown double in the drawings of three independent observers there.

But more strange, if possible, than the phenomenon itself is the manner of its occurrence as described by Signor Schiaparelli in an interesting series of papers on Mars, published in the eighth volume of the French periodical *L'Astronomie*. He has, as he here tells, known the extraordinary metamorphosis, effected in some inconceivable fashion, to take place within twenty-four hours, a vast cataclysm being accomplished seemingly with the ease of a conjuror's trick. The channel emerges double from a nebulous dimness which accompanies the process of transformation, and is due, in the opinion of the Brera.

astronomer, not to the intervention of mist or vapour, but to the presence of disintegrated matter in course of re-arrangement. The old channel in some cases retains its position while a new one is evolved beside it, in others disappears to make way for a substitute. Both lines maintain the most exact parallelism during their whole course, sometimes of a thousand leagues or more, while separated by an interval of about two hundred miles. The tendency to gemination extends to the lakes or inland basins on which the canals converge, frequently to the number of six or seven, as these expanses are seen bisected at the same time with their main feeders, sometimes in the direction of one, from north to south, sometimes in that of another, from east to west. Even in the larger seas a change in the same direction may occasionally be traced, a great bar of land being protruded into a conspicuous gulf or inlet. The gemination of the canals is a seasonal phenomenon, occurring after the vernal, and before the autumnal equinox of the planet, to disappear partially at the northern, and wholly at the southern solstice. The following is Signor Schiaparelli's description of some of his observations of the transformation :

During the month of January, 1882, the Euphrates was visible up to the 18th of the month without presenting any noticeable feature. On the 19th it appeared considerably enlarged, and slightly nebulous on the left side. On the 20th a dense fog prevented me from observing it. On the 21st the gemination was complete and perfectly evident. In the same month of January, 1882, the Ganges showed single until the 12th. On the 13th it appeared accompanied on the right by a faint luminous band which ran beside it, throughout its entire length, for a distance of about five degrees between *Lacus Lunæ* and *Fons Juventutis*. This band was no longer visible on the 18th and 19th, while all the surrounding region was sprinkled with white spots. These spots had disappeared on the 20th, but the new band reappeared, this time darker, narrower, and more defined. It resembled the Ganges, though a little fainter. The Ganges was now doubled, and its aspect changed no more until the end of the observations of that year, 1882. The appearance of a white patch on both sides of a canal at the period of its doubling has been often observed, in 1882 in *Thoth*, and in 1888 in *Protonilus* and *Nepenthes*, this white patch showing very distinctly between the lines of gemination.

In addition to the phenomenon of doubling, the canals are subject to great fluctuations in size, as well as in intensity of colour, sometimes becoming altogether invisible even under the most favourable conditions for observation. This effacement



takes place more especially at the time of the southern solstice, after which they emerge from their temporary eclipse in the form of a vague shadow, gradually gathering definiteness of outline. These changes take place simultaneously along the whole length of the canal, unless it is intersected by another, when they sometimes cease abruptly at the break in continuity. As some of the great waterways extend from the planet's equator to his polar regions, and many cover ninety degrees of his surface, the scale of the dislocations implied by their variations in aspect is such as to involve the whole structure of the planet, nor can any explanation of them be satisfactory, which does not connect them with his past history, and the stage of development at which he has arrived. As far as they obey any general law, they seem to coincide in direction with great circles, that is to say, with those whose plane, passing through the centre of the sphere on which they are traced, would bisect it in any given direction. Their rigid parallelism, mathematical straightness of line, and tendency to converge on central points, cause a plan of Mars to resemble a railway map, with its network of cast-iron roads meeting at the great junctions.

Next to that of his canals, the most interesting recent discovery in relation to Mars was that of his moons, detected by Professor Asaph Hall, of Washington, in August, 1877. Fiction had invented them before they were known to exist, and acquaintance with them was one of the points on which the Laputan astronomers were so far ahead of their age.

They have likewise discovered (says the great satirist in this famous stumble upon truth) two lesser stars or satellites which revolve about Mars, whereof the innermost is distant from the centre of the primary planet exactly three of his diameters, and the outermost five. The former revolves in the space of ten hours, and the latter in twenty-one and a half.

This passage published in 1726-27, though not accurately true, comes sufficiently near the truth to be a very remarkable hit, and doubtless suggested to Voltaire the experience of Micromégas who catches a view of similar bodies in his voyage through space.

These toy satellites, called Deimos, and Phobos (Fear and Panic), after the companions of Ares so designated in the *Iliad*, have a diameter of some six or seven miles, and move very



rapidly in small orbits, the latter, which is slightly the larger, at a distance of 3,760, the former of 12,500 miles from the surface of their primary. If we could imagine the islands of Jersey and Guernsey scooped out of the Channel, and sent hurtling round us at the respective distances, say of New York and New Zealand from London, we should have an approximate idea of their size and positions. The inner one circles round the planet in a little over seven hours and a half, or three times in each of his days, forming the only known instance of a secondary body revolving in a shorter period than that of its primary's rotation. It is conjectured to be in course of falling towards him, travelling in a slowly contracting spiral which will eventually bring it with a crash to his surface. Deimos completes his more leisurely revolution in thirty hours, eighteen minutes, nearly six hours more than the Martian day. The light shed by it on Mars is calculated at  $\frac{1}{1200}$ , and that by its companion at  $\frac{1}{80}$ , that furnished to us by our satellite. The evolutions of this pair of pocket moons as they plunge into and out of the shadow of their central orb, in rapid alternations of eclipse and illumination, are almost bewildering to terrestrial observers, the microscopic sparks seeming to multiply themselves in transit, like a stage army in its passage behind the scenes.

The recent opposition has made some interesting additions to Martian topography, or "Areography," as it is called from the Greek name of the warlike divinity. As the planet's proximity to the horizon in the northern hemisphere was unfavourable to his observation thence, the new facts concerning him have principally come to us from Arequipa, in the Peruvian Andes, where Harvard University has established an astronomical station. From this coign of vantage Professor W. Pickering was able to discover two mountain ranges near the south pole of Mars, between which the melted snow had, he thought, collected before flowing northwards. In his equatorial regions two summits showed on August 5th, covered with snow, which two days later had completely melted.

I have seen (he says) eleven lakes varying in size. These lakes branched out in dark lines, connecting them with two large dark areas like seas, but not blue. There has been much local disturbance in the clouds round the planet since the snow melted, as is evident from the dense clouds which were collected within one area. These clouds

were not white, but yellowish in colour, and partly transparent. They now seem to be breaking up, but are still hanging densely on the south side of the mountain range.

A number of Schiaparelli's canals were also identified, but seen only as single lines, as their discoverer had predicted they would be, at this season, the Martian southern summer.

Three remarkable luminous points forming a triangle on the rim of Mars, previously discerned by M. Terby, in May, 1888, have also been mapped down again by the astronomers at Mount Hamilton, as well as by M. Perrotin at Nice. The latter who saw them first grow in brilliancy, and then totally disappear in the course of an hour, believes it impossible they can be mountains, as they have an apparent elevation of from eighteen to forty miles. This seeming height may indeed be due to irradiation, which makes a brilliantly white object start out in exaggerated optical relief from a dark background. To this, their first discoverer attributed their apparent projection beyond the planet's limb as they approached it, an effect produced likewise by his polar snow caps, occasionally seen as though raised above his surface. The permanence of this shining trio, as proved by their recurring identification, excludes the possibility of their being clouds, and entitles them to rank among the ascertained landmarks of Martian geography.

We must however conclude them to be exceptional features, as we cannot resist the impression in studying the disk of Mars with its rectilinear system of Titanic troughs, that we are looking at a world in very low relief. Uniformity of surface is implied by the persistence in direction of these singular features, as well as by the lateral shifting of their lines. The interposition of rocky barriers must necessarily both deflect and confine their beds, and the masonry of the mountains cannot yet have been built upon those vast steppes cut into strips and polygons by trenches with boundaries rigid as the lines of a trigonometrical survey, yet mobile as the sand heaps of the Sahara.

The earlier conception of Mars as a body more advanced towards extinction by cooling than the earth, based upon his inferiority in size, must thus be largely modified by our later knowledge of him. The anomalies of his climate alone furnish an argument for assigning him a different place in general cosmogony. Mr. Maunder, of the Greenwich Observatory, in an interesting article on this subject in *Knowledge* for September,

shows how he defies all calculation in this respect, and contrives to be unexpectedly comfortable under very disadvantageous circumstances. Thus, while his greater distance from the sun involves a reduction of more than half the solar light and heat supplied to him as compared with that received by the earth, which would reduce his mean temperature to  $130^{\circ}$  or  $140^{\circ}$  of frost, and that of his tropical regions to a little below the freezing point, we find his temperature in point of fact to be higher than that of our own globe. Of this his polar ice caps offer a reliable index, as they occupy a relatively smaller area and disappear more rapidly than ours. Arctic exploration would seemingly be far easier there than with us, and in favourable seasons open water might possibly be found up to the pole itself. Nor can we look for an explanation of this phenomenon in a greater retentiveness of heat in his atmosphere. In this respect also he should apparently be at a disadvantage, as, judged by its comparative tenuity, it must be far less efficient as a warm blanket than ours. Adding this refrigerating influence, the mean temperature even of his tropical zone should be far below freezing, involving a universal ice age. Mr. Maunder ingeniously suggests that the small extent of the polar snow fields may be accounted for by the languidness of his air currents due to his feeble gravity, and to the consequent absence of that free atmospheric circulation by which moisture is supplied from the torrid to the frigid zone. The snowfall would thus be scanty, providing only a thin coating easily dissolved by the summer sun. This condition of things would, however, have no effect in preventing the freezing of the seas, which, powdered with snow or rime, would present to us a luminous white surface as do the Arctic and Antarctic snows.

We are then forced to the conclusion that since neither the sun's heat supplied to Mars, nor any economy of it by atmospheric stoppage of radiation, is sufficient to account for his mild climate, it must be due to proper heat, still retained in his interior.

This hypothesis would be in conformity with other evidence showing him to be presumably in a less, rather than a more advanced stage of development than the earth. For not only is the apparent dead level of his continents and oceans what we might expect in the earlier stages of planetary evolution, but there is evidence of instability in their relations which argues a still greater degree of chaotic immaturity. Tracts of

land in some places offer an indeterminate outline, alternating between the hues of land and water, and whole continents

Suffer a sea change,

and undergo periods of temporary submergence. M. Perrotin observed the following changes in a conspicuous part of the surface of the planet through the fifteen-inch refractor at Nice.

The triangular continent, somewhat larger than France (the Lybia of Schiaparelli's map), which at that time stretched along both sides of the equator, and which was bounded south and west by a sea, north and east by channels, has disappeared. The place where it stood as indicated by the reddish-white tint of land, now shows the black, or rather deep-blue colour of the seas of Mars. The Lake Moeris, situated on one of the channels, has also vanished, and a new channel, about 20° long, and 1° or 1° 5' broad, is now visible, running parallel with the equator to the north of the vanished continent. This channel forms a continuation of a previously existing double channel, which it now connects with the sea. Another change is the unexpected appearance about the north pole of another passage, which seems to connect two neighbouring seas through the polar ice.

The same observer shortly after announced the partial retreat of the invading sea from the tracts it had covered, so that their aspect was intermediate between that presented when first mapped and when last studied. These changes are probably due to alternate subsidence and depression of large areas, preliminary to their final emergence as permanent dry land from the jealous arms of the deep. The still more wonderful variations of level indicated by the opening and closing of the canals are part of the same series of undulations in the floor of the planet itself. We must remember that the two great restraining forces acting as checks on the expansive energies within, are very much enfeebled as compared with those prescribing our own conditions of existence. Gravity on Mars is less by nearly two-thirds, and atmospheric pressure by five-sixths, than on the terrestrial surface, that is to say, the superincumbent air which here presses with a weight of fifteen pounds on every square inch of matter, counts there for but two and a half pounds, and the barometer stands at five instead of thirty inches. This difference in the equilibrium of nature would enable changes, accomplished here only at the cost of a tremendous convulsion, to take place there with a diminution of violence proportioned to that of resistance. It is thus

conceivable that even such vast depressions as the Martian canal-beds, may open and close with the heaving and falling of the unstable foundations of the crust, determined perhaps in their rectilinear direction by movements along great ribs of partial consolidation and shrinkage within. Internal collapse on such a line would cause external subsidence, alternated with upheaval in the flux and reflux of the abysmal currents. By no other agency indeed than that of the plutonic forces, can we conceive of such colossal dislocations of surface being wrought, as those implied in the creation and obliteration, the expansion and contraction, of these mysterious rulings on the disk of Mars. The action of such forces may perhaps explain the fashion in which the doubling of the Ganges was heralded in January, 1882, as described by Signor Schiaparelli in the passage already quoted. The luminous band which first appeared parallel to the line of the old canal, might have been composed of subterranean steam escaping through cracks along the line of fissure, and the nebulosity which on other occasions shrouded the process of duplication might have been a cloud of volcanic ash or other matter ejected by the convulsion attending it. Nature works in straight lines only in rock fracture and stratification, where the crystallizing forces come into play, and these vast breaches, straight as if ruled by line and plummet, must be due to the action on a majestic scale of the same laws. Assuming them to be water channels, which Professor Pickering disputes, it seems impossible that they should be filled in a few hours by the inflow of the seas, and not rather by the uprush of subterranean waters along their whole course. We may possibly see in them the outlines of future mountain axes where the mighty uplift of Martian Alps or Andes will thrust itself through the joints in the armour-plating of the planet.

Among hypotheses to explain their nature, are that of Fizeau, who conjectured them to be gigantic crevasses in still more gigantic glaciers; of Mr. Lockyer, who in *Nature* for September 8th, ascribes them to inundations caused by the melting of the polar snows; and of a writer in the *Saturday Review* of September 10th, who suggests with more plausibility that they may be fissures through which the surface waters will eventually disappear, as those of the moon are supposed to have done ere she had assumed her present arid condition. To these may be added the ingenious theory of M. Flammarion,

that they form a vast geometrical design, laid out by the Martian population in order to attract our attention.

Signor Schiaparelli has wisely warned us against twisting terrestrial analogies to the explanation of these features of Mars, for as our finite minds can only argue from the known to the unknown, we are but groping in the dark in these attempts to grasp the bearings of facts so entirely without the horizon of our own experience.

The violent vicissitudes undergone by such a globe, scarcely fit it to be the abode of life, which can exist on Mars only in a rudimentary state, if at all. Speculative fancy, however, finds an explanation of the hue of his disk in a vegetation perennially glowing with the flame and russet of our autumnal blazonry. The ruddy tint is more probably due to mineral colouring, such as would be produced by the presence of iron in his soil, rusting, as it does when in contact with the oxygen of the air. Great variations in tint have been recorded by Professor W. Pickering at the mountain station of Arequipa, where the distorting effect of our lower atmospheric strata is eliminated. Thus the region east of the Syrtis Major, the great northern prolongation of the Martian southern ocean, is seen at the time of the autumnal equinox of the northern hemisphere to be distinctly greener than that to the west, but as the season advances this difference becomes less marked, and the more vivid colour is restricted to a narrower area.

Early in 1890 (goes on Professor Pickering) the entire region enclosed between the arms of the Syrtis Major, as far as the snow cap, was of a brilliant green colour. On June 27th, however, or eleven days before the vernal equinox of the southern hemisphere, a yellow spot appeared at the extreme northern point of the triangular area. As the season advanced, this yellow spot increased in area, till it covered the whole region as far south as could be seen. This year (1892) when first observed, this area was entirely green, but on May 9th, or seventeen days before the vernal equinox, the yellow or perhaps reddish spot appeared at the same place, and it will be interesting to determine if, as the season advances, this colour will again progress towards the pole. Changes to the east of the Syrtis Major have also been noticed by Schiaparelli. These he ascribes to extensive floods. On June 8th, 1890, thirty days before the autumnal equinox in the northern hemisphere, there was a large greenish area visible in longitude  $180^{\circ}$ , latitude  $30^{\circ}$  north. By July 16th, or eight days after the equinox, this spot could not be found, the whole region appearing of a yellow tint.



There are thus indications of a change of colour recurring with the seasons, and so far resembling those due to the annual renewal and decay of terrestrial vegetation.

Mars, despite his low barometer, enjoys finer weather than ours. His skies during his hours of daylight, when alone he is visible to us, are seldom obscured by a cloud, since his rarefied atmosphere could scarcely support the dense masses which float in ours. Mr. Maunder, however, suggests in his article in *Knowledge*, that there is considerable formation of cloud during his nights, of which we see indications in the pale hue of his edges, where morning and evening shadows are stealing over his surface. He has neither perceptible twilight nor sunset colouring, and his sky must be of an intensely deep hue, while his extremes of light and shade are much more contrasted than under our more diffusive aerial veil.

Violent commotions of the air are also supposed to be unknown to him, as these are dependent on gravitating power so much reduced in his relatively small mass. A snow-storm nevertheless has been detected on his surface by the mechanical record of the photographic lens. A plate exposed by Professor Pickering showed one day a large area of his polar region blurred and clouded, which on the next day displayed an extended area of dazzlingly white surface. The evidence of a fresh snow-fall was irresistibly suggestive of a close similarity to the meteorological conditions of our own planet.

His feeble air pressure, however, lowers the tension of all matter, and necessitates a readjustment of the equilibrium of the natural forces both in his interior and on his exterior. Thus the boiling-point of water, dependent on the resistance of the air to its vaporization, is lowered, Mr. Maunder thinks, from  $100^{\circ}$  to  $46^{\circ}$  centigrade, and the elasticity of other liquids and gases would be increased in the same degree. The effect of this change on organic life is illustrated by the curious fact recorded during the *Challenger* Expedition, that some of the frail organisms brought up from the abyssal depths where they lived under the prodigious weight of the superincumbent column of water, actually broke up and went to pieces on reaching the surface, and being released from its pressure. The exquisite balance of the animal economy is overthrown by any essential change in its environment, and we, if transported to the surface of Mars, would perish from a like diminution of pressure on our bodies, causing their fluids to rush to the surface and escape from their containing tissues.



Nevertheless, as matter is but an accident, and not an essential of life, the latter may exist under any material conditions. The idea that Mars is inhabited by intelligent beings is therefore not absolutely excluded by the differences in physical structure between him and the earth. The project, however, of establishing a code of signals with them, in the very improbable case of their existence, is outside the bounds of rational speculation. The true surface of the earth is, to begin with, screened from external observers both by the density of the air, and by the clouds with which it is charged. The latter form no doubt a shining shield, broken by dark openings above regions like the Sahara, or other rainless zones. In the next place, Mars, when in opposition and consequently nearest to us, is faced by our dark side, and has us, moreover, above his horizon only during his own hours of daylight, in the immediate neighbourhood of the sun. In the third place, objects to be distinguishable at such a distance, even through the largest telescopes, should be of vast dimensions, so that, as Sir Robert Ball puts it in *The Fortnightly Review* for September, we should have to wave a flag as large as Ireland to attract the attention of our neighbour. Under these circumstances the sum of money recently bequeathed by a French lady as a reward for the invention of a system of interplanetary communication, is scarcely likely to find a claimant for a considerable time.

E. M. CLERKE.

### *Spiritualism and its Consequences.*

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ANY ONE who believes in the central fact of Christianity must by the very fact of his belief be a dogmatist so far as regards the Divinity of Jesus Christ. He must also, if he is consistent in his belief, regard with the utmost abhorrence any system or any influence that tends to weaken the authority of the Son of God over the hearts of men. Any one moreover who believes in the inspiration of Holy Scripture must hold that any spiritual agency that opposes the doctrine of the Incarnation is of necessity not of God, but of the evil one. "Every spirit that dissolveth Jesus" (*i.e.*, separates between His Divinity and Humanity, denying either one or the other) "is not of God, and this is Antichrist of whom you have heard that he cometh, and he is now already in the world."<sup>1</sup> Every Christian holds any fact, statement, or phenomenon which traverses this central doctrine of Christianity to be of Hell. In this respect he is bound to be intolerant. He cannot, as a lover of God's truth, show any consideration for it. A fact it cannot be, as a statement it is false, as a phenomenon it must be a mere imposture. When therefore we find the revelations of spiritualism "dissolving Christ," denying His Divinity, weakening our faith in Him, rendering those who allow themselves to be entangled in their meshes averse to all that implies dependence on God and a recognition of His claims to our obedience, we are bound as soldiers of Christ to denounce such revelations, and warn the faithful against them as not only dangerous, but ruinous to the souls of men. Men who pride themselves on their progressive tendencies, and who regard the solid conservatism of the Catholic Church as the great bar to the advance of modern intelligence, may denounce this as an intolerance that leads to persecution and cruelty. They may attempt to obscure the point at issue by talking about our desire to consign those who teach doctrines opposed to our own beliefs to the dungeon and

<sup>1</sup> 1 St. John iv. 3.

the stake, but their language, if they are consistent, amounts to a denial of the paramount importance of the central fact of Christianity, and a refusal to accept Holy Scripture as an ultimate authority. They take their place in the ranks of those who do not really believe in the Son of God as St. John believed in Him. Their belief is no real belief. It is an opinion, and nothing more.

We do not know whether the *Review of Reviews* is professedly Christian. If it is, the following criticism, which appears in the current number, on our article on the true character of spiritualism, is quite inconsistent with the Christian faith it professes to hold. After quoting the conclusion at which we arrived respecting the true character of the mediumistic spirits, the writer in the *Review of Reviews* lectures the Catholic Church and its ministers in the usual tone of the enlightened Protestant of the day :

It is instructive to have so clear an exposition of the doctrine which has severed the most intelligent and progressive races of the world from the fold of the Catholic Church. If any fact, statement, or phenomenon traverses a priest's idea of what constitutes the truth, it is of Hell, and that is an end of it. In the old time this was held to be good enough to consign the heretic to the dungeon and the stake. Nowadays the power to prosecute is over, but the principle on which it was based remains intact.<sup>1</sup>

It is strange that intelligent men do not see that such a paragraph is a virtual disavowal of Christianity altogether. It is no question of "traversing what a priest believes to be true," but of directly and indirectly denying the doctrine that underlies all Christianity and all belief in its Divine Founder. Any one who professes a love for Christ and Christianity is bound, if he accepts the facts we have stated, to be indignant against all such influences as have for their object to destroy His power over the hearts and minds of men. To declaim against this as priestly intolerance is simply to forfeit any right to the name of Christian.

Now the general tenor of the messages received by the professors of Spiritualism from the spirit-world is certainly incompatible with the teaching of the Catholic Church, or with any form of professed Christianity. We therefore conclude that their author cannot be Almighty God, or the spirits of the

<sup>1</sup> *Review of Reviews*, September, 1892, p. 259.

blessed. If the evidence we adduced in our last article is reliable, there is a strong flavour of the preternatural and the infernal in the communications made to the mediums. From this, it follows that the effect of such communications on those to whom they are made must be most pernicious. We have now to inquire, as far as such inquiry is possible, whether this is proved by facts to be the case, whether the *a posteriori* evidence establishes a demoralizing and deteriorating effect resulting from the intercourse. But before we pass to this subject we must notice one other peculiarity of the communications themselves. Any one who has read these spirit messages cannot fail to observe that they are in great part utter twaddle, and almost always contemptible from a literary point of view—fit product of those whose intelligences were blasted for ever by the just judgment of God. We take up some spiritualist publications and select one or two instances of their “god-like” utterances. In a little book by a certain Mr. Andrew Davis, he gives in full various communications made to him by the spirits. One of them announces himself as having been “the governor-instructor and lawgiver of Athens” (we are sorry to say that we cannot recognize him in Athenian history), who was dethroned and banished into the interior by his ungrateful subjects. This remarkable monarch gives us a specimen of his eloquence and wisdom.

This change in my life and habits, was the beginning of my uneasiness concerning the issue of that event which is called Death. Mythology, though begemmed with unnumbered diamonds of truth, had robbed my spirit in darkness. I sought and invoked the gods to preside over me, when death frowned upon and claimed me as its victim. Nothing discoursed more forcibly and fearfully concerning the dreadfulness of my metempsychosis than the long and still nights, which I endeavoured to illuminate and animate with constant wakefulness. But the words of the Judean shepherd sounded loudly in my soul—“Death is an everlasting sleep!” [*sic.*] Whether in the forests of the Isle of Salamis; whether consulting the habitations of the gods; or whether contemplating the deep murmuring music of the Grecian Gulf—yea, everywhere, I heard the voice of the Judean shepherd saying—“*Dark is the valley of the shadow of death*”—“*Death is an everlasting sleep!*” (pp. 20, 21.)

The wisdom of the Greeks does indeed become foolishness in the spirit-world!

Another visitant from the spirit-world to Mr. Davis was an

American named Wilson, whom the author had known during life. He appeared in visible form, and his "holy communication" was as follows :

Truth respondeth to truth—love to love—and soul answereth to soul! I approach thee because thou art approachable, and I teach thee because thou didst first teach me.

I am forced to exclaim : How truthful is Truth—how lovely is Love—how good is Goodness—how omnipotent is Will—how wise is Wisdom—how great is Greatness—how divine is Divinity—how universal is the Universe ! (p. 15.)

After a little more of this sort of rubbish, the visitant describes his present condition.

Here, every one is conjugally conjoined—is married in spirit and in truth—or, every one *knows* where its proper and eternal associate resides ! Our marriages are instantaneous. Behold the sunbeam kiss the flower—or, the sudden blending of kindred dewdrops, or the instantaneous commingling of the elements—and you behold the quickness and beauty of the celestial marriage. The symbol is perfect in picture, not in magnitude—because, our unions are sweet, pure, beautiful and eternal ! (p. 16.)

Our readers will smile at the absurdity of these revelations, but they must not forget that tawdry grandiloquence imposes on the ignorant. We may notice incidentally that this latter passage is a direct contradiction to the Christian doctrine and the teaching of our Lord, that in the world to come there is no marrying or giving in marriage, and that this introduction of the notion of earthly and material bliss is worthy of the source from which it comes.

Another point must occur to any one if he is already acquainted with the lucubrations of the great spirits of Theosophy. He cannot fail to notice the curious similarity of style and thought existing between the spirits of the dead, and the Mahatmas who hold converse with Mr. Sinnett, and of whose style he gives some instances in his *Occult Philosophy*. There is the same frothy verbiage, the same mixture of high-sounding truisms and implicit falsehoods, the same general littleness and emptiness that render both the one and the other thoroughly contemptible from a literary point of view. We are reminded of a story we lately heard from one of the leading London publishers. A lady came to his office one day to offer him a posthumous novel of Charles Dickens. Such an offer startled him. Might he ask how had it come into her possession?

She was a little reluctant to answer, but presently informed him that it had been dictated to her by the spirit of Charles Dickens. The publisher's curiosity was excited, and he asked that the MS. might be sent. When it arrived it was the most absolute trash, its style resembling that of Mr. Wilson and the Athenian legislator, quoted above. When the authoress (or rather scribe) called again, he gently suggested that the style was scarcely that of Dickens. "The Medium" drew herself up. "Was it to be expected that the language of one who wrote from the emancipated spirit world would not differ very greatly from that which he employed while bound down to a body of flesh?"

But we must return to the serious question, as to the effect of this intercourse with the spirits on those who practise it. We have already seen that from the communications made by them we are justified in regarding them as envoys of darkness, not of light. When we consider the general drift of their teaching, we observe in it two peculiarities. (1) Its object invariably is to subtract from and not to add to the amount of dogmatic truth held by the persons to whom it was communicated. If it teaches truth, it is always some truth already accepted by them and familiar to them, and with the ulterior motive of gaining their confidence and lulling their fears. (2) It always leads up by indirect methods, for the most part, by suggestion and insinuation to the inculcation of doctrines which undermine the Christian religion. Sometimes the mere presence of the supposed individual is a practical denial of the Catholic faith, as when the alleged spirit of Florence Marryat's child appears as still a dweller in this lower world and not yet admitted to Heaven. When her mother inquired of the medium what is the present state of her baptized child, the answer is, "She is not in Heaven." This answer was given to one who at the time fully believed the Catholic doctrine that baptized infants behold the Beatific Vision immediately on their death. She was shocked at the news. If her faith had been firm, she would have recognized in the visitor one of the evil spirits insolently personating the child, who was in Heaven. But the poison had already begun to do its work. "This last assertion, knowing as little as I did of a future state, both puzzled and grieved me. I could not believe that an innocent infant was not in the Beatific presence. I had yet to learn that once received into Heaven no spirit could return to earth, and that a spirit

may have a training to undergo, even though it may have committed no mortal sin."

This was a bold stroke, but unhappily a successful one. It is a good illustration of the policy pursued in the subversion of truth by those who are too wise to make a direct assault that might scare away the victim who is to be enclosed in the net of Spiritualism. It is but one instance out of many in which the result of the intercourse with the spirits is that its invariable consequence is sooner or later to weaken or destroy faith. No one can touch pitch and not be defiled, no one can hold converse with the spirits without being contaminated thereby. Even though there may be no actual denial of Christian doctrine in the statements made, yet the general tone is invariably one that erects an authority independent of God. It is an implicit and indirect invitation to worship at another shrine than that of the Holy of Holies. The very fact of converse with an unseen spiritual agency, other than that of God's messengers and friends, renders the truths of faith dim and uncertain. A mist and a thickening mist gathers over the glass through which we behold things Divine, until at length they fade away from the mortal vision altogether. The world which our mortal eyes see not is peopled with beings more vivid and palpable, who prove their existence by making themselves heard and felt and even seen. The Saints and Angels, nay, the Blessed Trinity and the Sacred Humanity of Jesus Christ, are replaced by rivals, who appeal to sight, and throw a sort of discredit on those beings who appeal to faith and *not* to sight. There is not room for both, and the Court of Heaven has to give way to a commune which is not the Communion of the Saints, or to put it in another way, Almighty God withdraws the gift of faith from those who have any traffic with His enemies. From this the following consequences are shown by experience to arise in the case of Catholics who allow themselves to be drawn into the fascinating vortex of spiritualistic practices.

(1) With the decay of faith, hope also fades. The happiness and joy formerly found in the service of God disappear altogether, and an unaccountable melancholy occupies the soul, sometimes amounting to a misery that renders life intolerable, and to a despondency and hopelessness verging on despair. A strong impulse to self-destruction not unfrequently accompanies this feeling of depression.



(2) There also arises a disgust for the sacraments. Confession and Communion are avoided. We find that those who have defiled themselves with Spiritualism, even after they have abjured it, find it difficult to persuade themselves to go frequently to the sacraments.

(3) There is felt sometimes an aversion to prayer so strong that any honest attempt to pray becomes a positive torment, sometimes a complete coldness or indifference to it. The sense of dependence on God is weakened by intercourse with His enemies, and in its place the spirit of independence takes a strong hold of the soul. Anything that is an acknowledgment of our feebleness and dependence on God becomes distasteful. The preternatural agencies around offer to supply the aid for which recourse was previously had to the throne of God, without requiring that submission to God and resignation to His will that is a condition of successful prayer.

(4) For the same reason the intercession of the saints is no longer welcome to one who has intercourse with the spirits. The latter are ready with promises of gifts far better than those that the saints are wont to give, of knowledge or powers that are not granted by the inhabitants of Heaven to their clients, and of which they threaten speedily to deprive those on whom they have been conferred if they throw themselves on the protection of the saints.

(5) Above all, devotion to the Holy Mother of God is sure to fade away and disappear. It somehow drops out of sight, and there is no longer any love of her or desire to promote her honour, no wish to take shelter under her protection, no instinctive recourse to her as of a child to its mother. This is only what we should expect from him whom Mary has crushed under her feet. To rob our Lady of any of the homage that would otherwise have been paid to her is a great point gained for the enemy of souls.

Intercourse with the spirits is in this respect in the moral world what eating opium is in the physical world. Opium destroys the healthy action of the natural powers, and the attenuated frame and feeble gait soon bear witness to the ruinous effect of the poisonous drug that at first produced such delicious and soothing effects. So it is with Spiritualism. At first the eagerness of awakened curiosity and the sweetness of the forbidden fruit; then a sort of paralysis of the spiritual power, inability to make any advance, disgust and depression

which the miserable victim seeks in vain to avert by a still closer intercourse with the world of spirits.

But generally the subversive influence is more directly exercised. We have already shown how one by one the doctrines of Christianity are undermined. Generally the spirits begin from a topic which comes home with powerful vividness to themselves. They inculcate some theory in absolute contradiction with the eternity of punishment. Then they proceed to an assault on some other Catholic doctrine, and especially love to attack those that are connected with the Incarnation of the Divine Word. They do not, as a rule, deny the existence of a Personal God. Their policy is rather to rob Him, directly or indirectly, of His attributes of holiness and justice. The denial of His existence they leave to their followers and friends the Theosophists. Here I would again appeal to Catholics who have received communications on religious subjects from the spirits, whether the infallible result is not a weakening of the habit of faith and a suggestion of doubt and disbelief on the fundamental dogmas of their religion, especially eternal punishment, the Presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, the Infallibility of the Church, the importance of prayer, the necessity of the sacraments, &c. I am quite certain that there would be but one answer from all who have given themselves to the practice of Spiritualism. I believe that they would one and all confess that though at first and during the earlier stages of their converse with the spirits all seemed as before, yet after a time they found that the solid substance of their faith had become a hollow crust, prone to yield to any unwonted pressure, or at all events that they were torn asunder by doubts that had never before occurred to them, but now pressed upon them irresistibly by sceptical difficulties which once had seemed to them contemptible, but now presented themselves as overwhelming and unanswerable.

One other consequence follows occasionally from this dealing with the spirits, and that is a rush of abominable and wicked imaginations. One authentic instance I have heard of in which this was happily the means of inducing a young Protestant lady to give up the practice of Spiritualism. In another case it was not merely evil thoughts that were suggested by the spirits. They led on those who had intercourse with them to evil actions also. The frequent mingling of filthy words and phrases in the communication of the spirits

is indeed confessed by the spiritualists themselves, though the author of evil is too wise to introduce them generally at an early stage or where the medium would be disgusted by anything impure.

From all this we are warranted in concluding that the supposed spirits are nothing else than devils, who assume the character and sometimes the outward form of friends deceased in order to deceive mankind and subvert faith. St. Ignatius tells us in his *Spiritual Exercises* that when a bad spirit assails a devout soul, he begins with pious thoughts and suggestions, but invariably ends with such as correspond to his own diabolical nature, little by little drawing on the soul into the snares he has laid for it and the pit of destruction in which he desires to entangle it. Hence the Saint warns us to carefully examine the series of thoughts which are suggested one after the other and see whether their ultimate tendency is to anything bad, imperfect, or that would turn our minds from God or cause us to act less perfectly than we otherwise should, whether they weaken the mind or distract it or unsettle it, and deprive it of the peace it previously enjoyed. For if this is so, he tells us that this is a clear sign that the whole series of thoughts comes from the evil one, in spite of their beautiful commencement. This downward tendency is an almost infallible sign that he has been acting upon the soul. We may apply the same test to the teaching of the spirits. They begin with what is harmless, or even good. They teach that we ought to believe in God and trust Him. They lay down Christian doctrines. They suggest prayer and works of charity. They throw dust in pious eyes by requests for Masses for themselves, and, in the case of Protestants, even by advising them to frequent Catholic churches and apply for instruction to a Catholic priest. But after a time the scene changes, there comes in gradually a loosening of the dependence of the soul on God, a hesitation about some of the doctrines of the Church, plausible reasons against this or that dogma, disinclination to the pious practices which they pretended to encourage, growing disbelief, sometimes impurity: more often, a subtle and insidious pride, self-sufficiency, rebellion against God, and a loss of the very foundation of all virtue, the gift of Divine faith. Sometimes it may be that the soul may escape the snare and may even profit from the means employed by the devil to seduce it. But of this he is ready to take the risk. He knows that those who

at his suggestion seek for a priest or assist at Catholic services, are not likely to persevere in their religion even if they are received into the Church, and if one soul here or there gets good out of evil through God's mercy, yet it is but a rare exception, and may even play unconsciously into the devil's hands by serving as an argument against those who assert that these spirits are the enemies of God. "If they lead men into the Catholic Church, and teach them to pray and do works of charity, what absurdity to say that they are the messengers of Satan!" Such an argument is a very plausible one, and likely to mislead many. The author of evil knows that his nett gains will be all the greater for an occasional loss, like the man on the racecourse who gives away a purse containing a shilling for sixpence to one or two of the by-standers, whereby he disposes to the gaping crowd of a large number of purses that contain nothing at all.

We must now proceed to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the Catholic Church. But we must remember that the forbiddance of Spiritualism is not only of positive precept. It is also a part of the natural law which proclaims God the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and all creatures dependent upon Him. Any spiritual being manifesting itself to men otherwise than as a messenger from Almighty God, acts independently, and exercises its free-will outside of the obedience to its Creator. It therefore proclaims itself one of the enemies of God. Even if any spirit professes to bring a Divine message, it does not follow that it is to be believed. We have to judge from the character of the message brought. But the spirits which held communication with men, where no law save the natural law prevailed, made no profession of being sent by a Supreme Being. The prophetess of Apollo, the preternatural agency that spoke through the soothsayer, the magicians of ancient times in general, were all under the influence of some special deity. When the Pagans found that the Christian martyrs were under the protection of some invisible power, that they escaped from the fire unsinged, that the water had no power to harm them, that the fiercest wild beasts crouched and licked their feet in token of submission, they at once attributed to magic the phenomena inexplicable to them on any natural grounds, regarding magical influences as a familiar and malignant reality. This opposition between the natural law

and intercourse with spirits is curiously confirmed by the passage in the Mosaic law by which it is forbidden to the Jews. In Deut. xviii. 9—12 the Jews are warned emphatically against certain practices common among the nations of Palestine, but which are declared so abominable in the sight of God, that by reason of them God will destroy the nations among which they are found. Among those abominations is included *the seeking of the truth from the dead*, which is the essential feature of Spiritualism.<sup>1</sup> Now if these practices were specially forbidden to the Jews as being God's chosen people, if they were merely unlawful by reason of Divine or ecclesiastical enactment, they would not be brought forward as the reason why the heathen nations were dispossessed. God would not have punished the heathen for any except crimes against the natural law. To seek the truth from the dead is accordingly an offence against right reason, and cannot be excused even in a Pagan nation.

Here it is worth remarking, that what is unlawful in Spiritualism is not the mere fact of *receiving* communications from the dead. If we condemned this, the Spiritualists would have reason to object that both the Bible and the Church teach us that the good angels and even God Himself sometimes deign to hold intercourse with men, and that to condemn Spiritualism is to condemn what is sanctioned by Holy Scripture and the universal teaching of the Church.<sup>2</sup> For are there not stories without end in which we read of the souls in Purgatory, and even those of the lost, having appeared to guide or warn or help their friends on earth?

The answer to this is very simple. What is unlawful is the *seeking* of the truth from the dead, the *invoking* of the spirits of the dead, the adoption of any means by which we invite them

<sup>1</sup> "When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God shall give thee, beware lest thou have a mind to imitate the abominations of those nations. Neither let there be found among you any one that shall expiate his son or daughter, making them to pass through the fire: or that consulteth soothsayers, or observeth dreams and omens, neither let there be any wizard, nor charmer, nor any one that consulteth pythonic spirits, or fortune-tellers, or that seeketh the truth from the dead. For the Lord abhorreth all these things, and for these abominations He will destroy them at thy coming." (Deut. xviii. 9—12.)

<sup>2</sup> "If it be impossible that the spirits of the departed can communicate with men, the Bible must simply be a collection of fabulous statements; if it be wrong to speak with spirits, all the men whose history is therein related were sinners, and the Almighty helped them to sin, and if the spirits that have been seen and touched in modern times are devils sent on earth to lure us to our destruction, how are we to distinguish between them and the greatest spirit of all who walked with mortal Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden?" (*There is no Death*, p. 81.)

to hold communications with us. If it pleases God to permit one or another of those whose time of probation is over to visit those who are still in the world, it is perfectly lawful to receive the message brought. It is the summoning of them which is an encroachment on God's prerogative, and an insult to His Divine Majesty. It belongs to Him, and to Him alone, to dispose of them, according to His good pleasure. God reserves to Himself the right of sending them as messengers to men, and to violate that right seems to be even under the natural law an abomination before Him. The Spiritualist, whether the Pagan magician or the modern medium, does not invoke the spirits of the dead simply and solely as intercessors with God or emissaries from Him, and channels of His Divine power. There is no recognition of God in the whole process. He is ignored, and to ignore God is worse than to forget Him, and deserves a more severe punishment.

The fact is that the summons, or invitation, does not reach those for whom it is intended in their abode of happiness or of misery, but is caught up by those who are ever eager to avail themselves of the wickedness of men as a means by which to dupe them and lead them on to further iniquities. The tree is known by its fruits, and if the invocation of the spirits were not forbidden by the law of nature or the law of God, yet every lover of men would recognize it as undesirable by reason of the deteriorating influence which is invariably exercised by the spiritual beings who respond to the summons of the spiritualistic mediums.

But we must return to the attitude of Holy Scripture to Spiritualism. Among the Jews every spiritualist "medium," whether witch or wizard, was to be put to death: "A man or woman in whom there is a pythonical or divining spirit, dying let them die: they shall stone them; let their blood be upon them."<sup>1</sup> In Saul's earlier and better days he had rooted out all wizards, magicians, and soothsayers from the land; one of his last acts of apostasy was his recourse to a medium to bring up Samuel, that he might learn from him his future destiny. The whole history is a curious and instructive one. The woman knew well that the spirits with whom she held communication were not really those who they professed to be, and when at her invocation Samuel himself appeared, instead of the demon who personated him, she was terrified, and told Saul

<sup>1</sup> Levit. xx. 27.



that she saw "gods ascending out of the earth," the venerable Prophet himself, sent by God to warn the King of his approaching defeat and death—a very different apparition from those which she was accustomed to evoke for those who came to consult her.

In the New Testament, Simon Magus, and Elymas the sorcerer and magician, who opposed St. Paul at Paphos, were both of them spiritualists. The former is an interesting personage, as affording a parallel to the modern instances of the conversion of one who was subject to the influence and under the direction of the spirits. We have already mentioned the surprising fact that the spirits sometimes direct those who have intercourse with them to the Catholic Church. In this respect they are probably acting with a deeper insight into the character of those to whom they give such advice than is possessed by mortal men. The spirits that impelled Simon to seek for Baptism foresaw at least the probability of his after-apostasy. There is no reason to suppose that his conversion was not a reality. On the contrary, he seems to have been fully convinced of the preaching and mission of St. Paul. But the powers of evil reaped a better harvest from Simon Magus as a Christian than from Simon Magus as a heathen sorcerer, and his influence has been far more prejudicial to the cause of Christ than if he had never been converted.

We have another example of a spiritualist medium in the girl at Philippi who had a pythonical spirit, and was hired by some men of the city to "divine" or reveal to those who consulted her things that could not be known by any human agency. The trade was a very profitable one, which shows clearly enough the reality of the invisible agency that actuated her. When this girl saw St. Paul and St. Silas, she at once recognized their true character, and cried out after them that they were the servants of the Most High God. What was the motive of the spirit within her for proclaiming the Apostles to be God's messengers does not very clearly appear. It can scarcely have been a good one, for St. Paul was grieved at her conduct, and ordered the spirit, in the name of Jesus Christ, to go out of her. The anger of her employers when they saw that the hope of their gains was gone, was the occasion of the imprisonment and scourging of the Apostles, and of the celebrated conversion of the jailor of the prison where the Apostles were confined.



We have already mentioned the test that St. John proposes as the means by which the true nature of the spirits can be discerned. "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God. Every spirit that dissolveth Jesus" (*i.e.*, denies either His Godhead or His Manhood) "is not of God, and this is Antichrist, of whom you have heard that he cometh, and he is now already in the world."<sup>1</sup> The spirits with whom the Spiritualists hold converse come without exception under this latter category. One and all, like the spirit mentioned by the witness before the Dialectical Society, either deny or refuse to acknowledge the fact of the Incarnation. Not that they are in general anxious to put forward any assertion on the subject. They fear to give too great a shock to those whose faith they seek by more gentle and gradual a process to undermine. But when put to it, it seems that they cannot bring themselves to confess that God became Man in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, and shrink with the utmost horror from a truth which has been the subversion of their kingdom, and has compelled them to put their proud necks under their Conqueror's feet.

When we turn from Holy Scripture to the teaching of the Church, we find no distinct declaration of the unlawfulness of Spiritualism until quite a recent date. In the middle ages no one ever supposed that the spirits of the dead could be brought into communication with the living, any more than they doubted of the reality of diabolical possession. The instinct of faith recognized the obvious falsity of the theory that they could be evoked at the pleasure of the living medium, and rightly concluded that the devils *personated* the human beings whose spirits they professed to be. It was only in these latter times, when the habit of unbelief has grown bold and strong outside the Church, that it was necessary for the Congregation of the Inquisition to speak on the subject, and to warn the faithful of the unlawfulness of spiritualist practices. On August 4, 1856, a very clear and definite instruction was issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition, addressed to all the Bishops, on the abuses of magnetism. It first quotes the words of the Sacred Congregation in a previous decree, in which it had been stated that, under certain conditions, the use of magnetism was not forbidden, if the means employed were natural, lawful, and tended to a lawful end, but that the appli-

<sup>1</sup> 1 St. John iv. 3, 4.

ance of physical means to elicit effects surpassing the powers of nature was nothing but an unlawful and superstitious deception. The Congregation then proceeds: "Although this decree sufficiently explains what is lawful and unlawful in the use or abuse of magnetism, yet the malice of men has caused them to imagine that they have got hold of some principle by means of which they can divine and prophesy. Hence women, carried away by the tricks of what they call somnambulism and clairvoyance, declare that they can see things invisible, and utter discourses on religion itself, rashly presuming to call up the spirits of the dead, to receive answers from them, to reveal things hidden, or that are happening far away. In all these, since physical means are employed to produce ends that are not natural, whatever art or illusion they may employ, there is found an unlawful and heretical deception, and an offence against good morals. The Bishops are therefore urged to take all possible means to repress and root up these abuses, that so the flock of Christ may be preserved from the enemy, the deposit of faith be kept safe and sound, and the faithful preserved from the corruption of their minds."<sup>1</sup>

In this instruction we observe how the Sacred Congregation connects together magnetism, somnambulism, clairvoyance, and spiritualism. It does not in any way identify the agencies employed in these various branches of the occult sciences; on the contrary, it acknowledges that in the production of the phenomena of magnetism, certain natural and lawful means are

<sup>1</sup> "IV. Quamquam generali hoc decreto satis explicetur licitudo aut illicitudo in usu aut abusu magnetismi, tamen adeo crevit hominum malitia, ut neglecto licito studio scientiæ, potius curiosa sectantes, magna cum animarum jactura, ipsiusque civilis societatis detrimento, ariolandi divinandique principium quoddam se nactus glorientur. Hinc *somnambulismi* et *claire intuitionis*, uti vocant, præstigiis mulierculæ illæ gesticulationibus non semper verecundis abreptæ, se invisibilia quæque conspiciere effutiant ac de ipsa religione sermones instituere, animas mortuorum evocare, responsa accipere, ignota et longinqua detegere aliaque id genus superstitiosa exercere ausu temerario præsumunt, magnum quæstum sibi ac dominis suis divinando certo consecuturæ. In hisce omnibus quacumque demum utantur arte vel illusione, cum ordinentur media physica ad effectus non naturales, reperitur deceptio omnino illicita et hæreticalis et scandalum contra honestatem morum.

"V. Igitur ad tantum nefas et religioni et civili societati infensissimum efficaciter cohibendum, excitari quam maxime debet pastoralis sollicitudo, vigilantia ac zelus episcoporum omnium. Quapropter quantum divina adjutrice gratia poterant locorum Ordinarii, qua paternæ charitatis monitis, qua severis objurgationibus, qua demum juriis remediis adhibitis, prout attentis locorum, personarum temporumque adjunctis expedire in Domino judicaverint, omnem impendant operam ad hujusmodi magnetismi abusus reprimendos et avellendos, ut Dominicus grex defendatur ab inimico homine, depositum fidei sartum tectumque custodiatur, et fideles sibi crediti a morum corruptione præserventur." (Ballerini's Edition of Busenbaum, ii. pp. 253, 254.)

undoubtedly at work. Yet it points out that from the natural and lawful the malice of men passes on to the preternatural and unlawful, and that these are present whenever the results obtained cannot possibly be produced by the material and natural causes that are at work. Spiritualism certainly falls under its condemnation, and every loyal Catholic will accept the words of Ballerini,<sup>1</sup> who, in commenting on this Decree, tells us that "it is clear by the light of faith (*fide constat*) that God forbids the evoking of the spirits of the dead by man, and does not allow any intercourse to be carried on with them, so that any summoning of them is not only unlawful but altogether fruitless of results." This, he says, is the Church's certain doctrine. To such summons of the spirits "there answer not those who are summoned, nor any good angel, but Satan and his angels. Spiritualism is therefore an intercourse with the devil, to whom men deliver themselves up to be taught and guided, and by whom, as events prove, they are led away from the true faith and hurried into heresy and infidelity."

To sum up :

Spiritualism, by which we mean the practice of invoking and holding converse with the spirits of the dead by writing and speaking, or any other means whatever, is unlawful and abominable in the sight of God, and this for the following reasons :

1. The spirits who appear to those on earth when invoked by them are not what they profess to be, nor the spirits of departed friends, but the ministers of Satan who assume the character and even the appearance of the deceased, and manifest secrets known only to them, in order to deceive the living and bring them into their power. All commerce with them is therefore a direct dealing with Satan and the devils who serve him.

<sup>1</sup> "Constat enim fide Deum nolle animas defunctorum ab hominibus evocari, nec velle ut arte aliqua vel hominum nutu aut voluntate commercium ab his cum illis instituat atque ita hæc nolle ut non solum illicita, sed inefficax prorsus sit hujusmodi evocatio. Hæc est Ecclesiæ certa doctrina. Cum ergo tales evocationes fiunt, non animæ vocatæ respondent neque Angelus bonus, qui nequit Dei contradicere decreto et tamen spiritus aliquis respondet : restat ergo ut hic ille sit, qui est princeps hujus mundi, qui est tentator, qui contra Deum agentes decipere permittitur, h. e. Satanas aut aliquis angelus ejus. Est ergo Spiritismus commercium cum diabolo, cui se tradunt homines docendos et regendos et a quo, ut rerum eventus testantur, a vera Ecclesia abducuntur et in hæreses ac infidelitatem abripiuntur." (*Ibid.* p. 250.)

2. The true character of these spirits is shown by the doctrine taught by them. It is in direct opposition to Holy Scripture and the teaching of the Catholic Church. It is subversive of all faith. It is more especially directed against the eternity of punishment and the Incarnation of the Son of God. We know from Holy Scripture that the Incarnation is the test by which the spirits are to be tried, and the denial of the eternal punishment is what we should naturally expect from the accursed spirits who are themselves condemned to Hell for ever, and who are anxious to drag down to Hell as many as possible of the children of men.

3. The invariable consequence of intercourse with the spirits is a gradual and insensible loss of faith, and a disrelish and dislike for all intercourse with God, whether by prayer, Holy Communion, or any other of the sacraments of the Church. It either robs the soul of all peace, so that it is tormented by doubt and melancholy, or else it hardens the heart into a complete aversion from God and insensibility to His judgments or warnings. In some cases gross sins against purity also follow on the practice of Spiritualism.

4. Spiritualism is a grave sin against the natural law graven on the hearts of all men. It was one of the abominations for which the wicked nations of Palestine were expelled by Almighty God at the time of the Jewish conquest. Its prevalence is invariably accompanied by a low morality and an overweening pride.

5. Spiritualism is also strictly forbidden by Holy Scripture, and by the Catholic Church, under pain of mortal sin. It is a direct and formal insult to Almighty God. Any Catholic who takes any part in it or is present at a spiritualistic *séance* (unless it be for some good reason and with due permission from ecclesiastical authority), thereby exposes himself to most serious danger.

It is needless to add anything by way of exhortation to Catholics in order to induce them to keep aloof from these lying wonders and false miracles. But we hope that those outside the Church who may read these pages may recognize the peril that they are incurring by yielding to the deadly fascinations of Spiritualism.

R. F. C.

## *Miracle.*

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IT is needful that a layman who enters on a subject which might well demand the pen of a professed theologian, should give his reasons for the following pages.

Shortly after I joined the Catholic Church, it so chanced that an essay written by me when I was only feeling my way towards the light, fell into the hands of one, who, still a sceptic, was longing to believe. He sent a message to the following effect: "Tell him that if there be a revelation of the Truth at all, I am convinced that it is to be found in the Catholic Church; I shall read with interest whatever more he may write on the subject, but I trust he will never attempt to minimize the miraculous."

To do this was indeed the last thing that would occur to me; the evidence for recent miracles was among the causes which had brought me into the Church, and the existing supernatural order had helped me not a little to accept the record of it through history and as revealed in the Canon of Holy Scripture. Scarce any sentence in Cardinal Newman's writings had ever struck me more than this: "The Catholic Church is hung with miracles," and it had enabled me to grasp the truth that exceptions to what we call law are potentially present in all law, that miracle is among the evidences that we are not guided and governed by a system of levers, screws and wheels linked together by an iron and unchanging necessity; but by the hand of a Father, a hand, firm yet pliant, strong yet elastic, behind which is will, swaying circumstances, yet allowing itself to move at times in accordance with them; no mere force set in motion once for all, careless of what may stand in the way.

But though there was no temptation to deny miracle, the message seemed to call for a statement of its claims. There was in the mind of the speaker a feeling, whether or not founded in fact, that miracle is ignored, slurred over, and kept

in the background; that its existence is to be apologized for, rather than paraded, is a difficulty in the way of, not a testimony to, the Christian faith. The kind of argument which I might endeavour to place before my kindly adviser, should the occasion offer, gradually took shape, and while I may not doubt that my matter must be a mere commonplace to the clergy, that which has occurred to one lay mind may help other such under like circumstances. It may enable them to see that the Catholic Church, mirror on earth of God's external government, is indeed a realm of order and law, but manifesting constantly the presence of a living Ruler, guiding it through the ages; no mere jostle of atoms, which, that they may move at all, have gradually accommodated themselves to one fixed, unalterable course.

Before entering on the subject it is necessary to define our terms. It is undoubtedly true that the Latin word *miraculum* does not necessarily imply supernatural agency, but our whole argument is based on the existence of that agency. It is enough for us that *miraculum* may imply the supernatural, and we use the word only in that sense. So far as we can approach a definition by the use of synonymous terms, we seek information from Holy Scripture, and find that the events, which in common speech are called miracles, are therein named wonders or prodigies, signs, powers, and works.

Catholic writers, as well as the late Dr. Trench, whose work on our Lord's miracles is worthy of attention and respect, though it is occasionally disfigured by Protestant prejudice and not always theologically accurate, are careful to note, following Origen, that the word wonders is never applied to them but in conjunction with some other name, as though to show us that the mere wonder is not the chief feature in a miracle.

Not that the miracle, considered simply as a wonder, as an astonishing event which the beholders can reduce to no law with which they are acquainted, is even as such without its meaning and its purpose; that purpose being forcibly to startle men from the dull dream of a sense-bound existence, and however it may not be in itself an appeal to the spiritual in man, yet to act as a summons to him that he now open his eyes to the spiritual appeal which is about to be addressed to him.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Trench, *On the Miracles*, Popular Edit. p. 3.

Not all signs are miracles, but all miracles are signs, some to confirm those who deliver a message in God's name, some to reveal the more immediate presence or power of God, some to strengthen or reward individual faith or piety.

They are described also as powers; that is, powers of God, evidences, according to Catholic theologians, that new powers have entered into our world, and are working thus for the good of mankind; and the word "works" is used, "as though the wonderful were only the natural form of working for Him who is dwelt in by all the fulness of God."

Trench's description of a miracle is interesting: "An astonishing event which beholders can reduce to no law with what they are acquainted;" but it is inadequate, since his description would let in the wonders of hypnotism, clairvoyance, palmistry, &c.; some of them referable to law partially understood, some apparently diabolic miracles, of which Trench is of course not speaking. The words, however, do not in any case form a definition, nor can we call such any of the modes in which they are spoken of in Holy Scripture. Just as creeds were only needed as doubts grew, and would have been superfluous when all men believed; so before men had grasped the idea of the general uniformity of nature, before they spoke of laws of nature, by which they do not mean law at all, but only ascertained order, there could be no definition of what is beyond nature, in itself only another name for the ordinary and orderly working of God.

"Laws of God," says Trench, "exist only for us," and he quotes St. Augustine: "The will of God is the nature of each created thing."

That will [Trench continues] being the will of highest wisdom and love, excludes all wilfulness; it is a will upon which we can securely count; from the past expressions of it we can presume its future, and so we rightly call it a law. But still from moment to moment it is a will; each law, as we term it, of nature is only that which we have learned concerning this will in that particular region of its activity. To say then that there is more of the will of God in a miracle than in any other work of His, is insufficient.

St. Augustine, in the fourth century, seems to have been the first writer who found it necessary to define, or lay down a canon of, miracle. He takes the miracle at Cana, and asserts that the change of water into wine is God's ordinary work in



the ripening of grapes, and their fermentation in the wine vat. Goethe, though with an ironical and subversive intention, has adopted this view in the words he puts into the mouth of Mephistopheles in Auerbach's *Keller*:

Der Wein ist saftig, Holz die Reben,  
Der hölzerne Tisch kann Wein auch geben ;  
Ein tiefer Blick in die Natur,  
Hier ist ein Wunder ; glaubet nur.<sup>1</sup>

Kingsley quotes this again in *Alton Locke*, as well as the words of St. Augustine, and puts the argument in his own phrase, thus: "Allow Jesus to have been the Lord of Creation, and what was He doing then but what He does in the manufacture of every grape, transformed from air and water even as that wine in Cana."

In the same way St. Augustine speaks of the miracle of Aaron's rod that budded, reminding us that it is by the power of God that every tree does the same; the whole natural order is in absolute dependence upon God.

But take it in his own words in his treatise on the Trinity:

Who draws up the sap through the root of the vine to the cluster, and makes the wine, save God who, while man plants and waters, gives the increase? But when at the command of the Lord the water was made wine with unwonted quickness, the Divine power was declared, as even fools allow. Who in their wonted fashion clothes the trees with leaf and flower, save God? Yet when the rod of Aaron the priest budded, the Godhead, as it were, spake with doubting man. . . . When such things happen in, as it were, a kind of river of events which glide and flow from the hidden to the seen, and the seen to the hidden in a beaten track, they are called natural; when, in order to warn men, they are brought about with unwonted change, they are called miracles.

According to this, one form of miracle, though not at all the most surprising, is the direct revelation of that which is ever taking place in what we call time, but as time does not exist for God, rapidity or slowness of His action has no meaning, He is never rapid and is never slow, save to our apprehension; He simply does.

Dr. Trench works out this thought, showing that, *e.g.*, many

<sup>1</sup> The wine is sap, and wood the vine,  
The wooden table can give us wine;  
Search Nature well with earnest eyes!  
Believe, and miracles arise.

of the plagues of Egypt were the natural troubles of the land, quickened into far direr than their usual activity :

It is no absolute miracle that a coin should be found in a fish's mouth, or that a lion should meet a man and slay him, or that a thunder-storm should happen at an unusual period of the year, and yet these circumstances may be so timed for strengthening faith, for punishing disobedience, for awakening repentance ; they may serve such high purposes in God's moral government, that we at once range them in the catalogue of miracles.

St. Thomas Aquinas defines a miracle as "an effect which is beyond the order or laws of the whole of created nature" — *præter ordinem totius naturæ creatæ*,<sup>1</sup> but qualifies this to some extent in the work *Contra Gentiles* : "Those are rightly to be termed miracles which are wrought by Divine power, apart from the order usually observed in nature."<sup>2</sup>

If now we attempt to classify miracles, we may discover that in these also God acts by rule, and in a manner antecedently probable ; that we shall not find any such acts as are ascribed to their gods by men who do not understand who and what God is, that is to say, acts that are puerile, exaggerated, and monstrous. We shall find no stories

Of maids with snaky tresses, or sailors turned to swine,

nor such as those of the Infancy of Jesus in the spurious Gospels, at once trivial and malignant.

But before we affront the question of concrete miracles, there is a region of wonder to be examined, of enormous importance, if less capable of classification.

In the ecclesiastical order there are not only sacraments, capable of strict definition, but also what are called sacramentals, whose nature can less be reduced to rule and classification, as prayer and alms, the confession at Mass and in the Office, the blessing by bishops and abbots, holy water, blessed ashes, palms, candles, and the like.

So there exists, apart from concrete miracles, the miraculous, by which term may be designated such a state of things as we find in the Book of Genesis and other portions of the Sacred Narrative, when God and His angels converse familiarly with man ; or such occurrences as those in the giving of the Law to Moses, who with the elders of Israel went up into

<sup>1</sup> *Summa* i. cx. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Gentiles*, ii. 102.

the Mount: "And they saw the God of Israel." Again, at the Birth and Death of Jesus the invisible world became visible, and in closer contact with every-day life. Angels thronged round His cradle and His grave, and the heart of the distant East was moved at the flashing of a new star. Just in the same way, in the later history of the Christian Church there have been periods specially marked by the wondrous; by visions and dreams as distinguished from concrete miracles, though these were not wanting at such crises. At the time that the great monastic orders were founded; in the lives of certain saints, notably St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Teresa; in some places, as Florence in the thirteenth century, visions of Christ, our Lady, and the angels have revealed the nearness of the spiritual world. In these later days, again, the apparitions at Paray-le-Monial and at Lourdes, apart from the special miracles there vouchsafed, bring the same truth before the mind, in an age which seemed in danger of forgetting the very existence of the supernatural.

But when closely considered, the supernatural would seem to underlie and pervade the natural world in some such manner as the nervous system underlies our natural bodies, and can be manifested to and recognized by those who seek it with intelligence at any time and in any place; but it is especially gathered up and knotted together in ganglia, so that in such bundles of nerves it becomes almost impossible not to perceive it. The ganglia of the supernatural, so to speak, are found at certain points of the world's history, and we can understand the reason for some of them, as at the call of Abraham, the Birth of our Lord, the perfecting the organization of the Church, the development of the regular orders. Perhaps only when time is swallowed up of eternity we shall be able to see the whole anatomy, as it were, of the Church, and to understand the place of all the main centres of the supernatural, why and where they came into prominence and vision.

Now the record of these wondrous occurrences is imperfect; we are told that God spoke with Adam, with Noah, with Abraham, but not the manner of the interview, we know not whether He manifested Himself in some visible form, or infused into heart and conscience the knowledge of His will. We hear of angels, but the descriptions seem to imply now man, now God Himself, now, and this especially in the New Testament, bright beings, neither God nor man, "with the power of a

Divine nature, and the compassionate tenderness of a kindly human heart ;" we know not whether our Lady's delivery of the rosary to St. Dominic, of the scapular to St. Simon Stock, of the habit to the Servite Fathers were what we call, in modern philosophic language, objective or subjective, or whether it were on the confines of both, the vision being subjective, but tangible objects remaining in the hands of the recipients. We know not, and it may be we shall never know, yet a few words may be permitted on the subject, which may aid in clearing the difficulty.

We may be content to leave the question of objectiveness and subjectiveness on one side, when the Saint who has given us the most remarkable, if short, detail of his own experiences was unable to resolve the problem. St. Paul tells us that he—for no one has ever doubted that he spoke of himself—was caught up into the third Heaven, and heard words which it was not allowed him to utter, also that he had visions and revelations more than others ; but he goes on to say that he knows not whether he was then in the body or out of the body, whether the visions and his transportation to Heaven were or were not objective. But that which was objective remained : the thorn in the flesh, however the words be interpreted, some sharp bodily ailment, visible, tangible to himself, and probably also to others. So St. Francis and other saints who have been marked with the stigmata, down to this century, in which Maria Mörl, the estatica of the Tirol, bore the same signs of her suffering God, would all have been content to leave unanswered the question whether their visions were of the bodily or mental eye, but there was no doubt at all that the wounds were outward facts, wherewith they were marked as sharers in the Passion of Jesus.

Indeed we may go further and say that tangibility and visibility, according to the senses, have nothing to do with reality. Our Lord's wounds were as real on His risen Body when Thomas did not see them, as when he was graciously permitted to behold and touch ; he was as truly the Christ, when He walked with the disciples to Emmaus, and their eyes were holden that they knew Him not, as afterwards when He made Himself known to them in the breaking of bread ; He was as truly existent when invisibly, intangibly, He passed the sealed stone and closed doors, as when, in the sight of crowds, He hung upon the Cross.

It will probably have struck all thoughtful persons that the conception of angels as represented in art was of slow growth and late development. But if in our day, God were pleased to allow us, as He has from time to time allowed certain of the saints, for instance, St. Philip Neri and St. Frances of Rome, to see our Guardian Angel, it would be almost as great an astonishment as to see him at all, were we not to see him like the angel of some well-known picture, or at least like some abstraction and combination of many. And this, although we know and believe the Church's doctrine that an angel is pure spirit, bodiless, impalpable, therefore only seeming to be in human form, with those added qualities which denote swiftness and strength and unceasing watchfulness. It stands to reason that if a being always waiting in God's presence to do His will, "glorious, benignant, beautiful," manifest himself to man, it must be under a form in which man has already conceived of him, else he will rather terrify, or make no impression at all. Hence when converse with angels was frequent, and no ideal portraits had been made of these bright spirits, Abraham and the other Patriarchs, Manoaah and young Tobias, saw them in the forms of men; and only by after events, or upon some wondrous act of the Angel, did the recipient of these gracious visits recognize what they were.

So with apparitions of Christ and our Lady. It is most natural that Christ should appear either as the Babe of Bethlehem, or as He who treads the wine-press of the Cross, as the thorn-crowned Martyr, or the King of Glory, appearing, according as the needs of those to whom He comes require that He should be seen. Our Lady comes as the Virgin of the Annunciation, the *Mater Dolorosa*, and *Maria Assumpta*; the elderly woman bowed with sorrow, who bends over her Son in Francia's *Pietà*, or the Virgin ever fair and young as Murillo imagined her, with the crescent moon beneath her feet; or again, as she showed herself to Bernadette Soubirous at Lourdes.

Much more is all this true of God Himself; that Being without body, parts, or passions, if He talk or live familiarly with man. If on Him be laid no inherent necessity in regard to Himself, there is an inherent necessity in regard to us. We know ourselves as the crown of His creation, hence we can only think of God as of one whom our souls are like, but greater, wiser, nobler than we, and if He talk with man it must be as a man talketh with his friend.

So much it was well to say about the borderland of wonders which are yet not concrete miracles, but it is enough to indicate the explanation which would be given, where any is possible or desirable. The borderland of wonder, though only revealed through chinks, is yet sufficiently disclosed to show how near are the worlds of sight and faith, how interchangeable is one with the other, so that even in this life the mists which hide the supernatural may and do clear away. We cannot always perceive the gulf which exists between the objective and the subjective, between body and spirit, and when we do see it, may understand that only to us is that gulf impassable. Past, present, and future, are one and the same to God, the unchangeable everlasting Now.

Concrete and definite miracles arrange themselves, for the most part, in special groups, as may be easily seen by any one who will take the trouble to make lists of those occurring in the Bible, in ecclesiastical history, or in any collection of the Lives of the Saints. We may take, as typical of such groups, unexpected births; healing from sickness, with or without the use of natural means; raising from the dead; the change of substance, as of water into wine; or of property, as when the axe-head rose to the surface of the pool. There are again others which seem to stand alone, only because we are unaware of instances of the same kind, for it cannot be supposed that all miracles have been recorded, as when the walls of Jericho fell at the blowing of the trumpets; there are others wherein a wondrous gift abides in the matter of the miracle, which is continuous, and not confined to a single manifestation. Such are those wherein Elias and Eliseus caused meal and bread and oil to multiply as long as need required, or that in which the blood of St. Januarius continues to liquefy, so often as the conditions of its first liquefaction are repeated; or that of the oil which still continues to flow from the bones of St. Walburga, who died in the eighth century, and from those of St. Nicolas of Bari, in the fourth. If we classify the instances of miracle in several groups, their repetitions under like circumstances at various periods in the world's history may help us in a degree to understand both the ordinary rule of God and the rule, so to speak, of the exception; remembering that the ultimate rule of God is always and only His good pleasure, and His sovereign will.

But there is one miracle which cannot be classified, and

falls into no group; alone in the world's history, it is like the sun which God has set in the firmament for the light of our system. This is, of course, the miracle of the Incarnation, when by the glad co-operation of Mary, she, the one sinless and stainless creature, became the Mother of her God. She,

Pattern of seraphs, only worthy ark  
To bear her God athwart the floods of time.

In speaking of other wonders, whereat men stumble, Cardinal Newman has well said that all is as nothing in comparison with this; no miracle can be so great as that which took place in the holy house at Nazareth. And with the same thought Dr. Trench says, "The great miracle is the Incarnation, all else, so to speak, follows naturally and of course."

But though this be so, there are still certain events recorded in Holy Scripture which have been called "preludings of the Incarnation," some of which, foretold by the Prophets, and having in their days found a first accomplishment, were afterwards regarded as having their complete fulfilment only in the Birth of Christ. In these events God would seem to show His abiding sway over the life, and reproduction, and births of men. It is of Him that one marriage is fruitful, and another is not: "Children and the fruit of the womb are an heritage and gift that cometh of the Lord." And this fact, which we are apt to forget, He from time to time accentuates, as it were, by the births of children when such seem unlikely or impossible. Isaac, for instance, was born when it appeared almost against the course of nature that he should be, and the birth was heralded by the message of an angel; Samson, not, so far as we hear under the same circumstances of extreme unlikelihood, but still against hope, after a similar angelic word. The High Priest, Heli, foretold the birth of Samuel, Eliseus that of the son of the woman of Sunam. An Angel, again, declared that St. John Baptist should be born, when Zachary and Elizabeth were well stricken in years, and that event immediately heralded the Nativity which, as has been said, stands alone.

Closely connected with this is that class of miracles which is concerned with restoration to life at the Divine word, whether spoken by the Lord Himself, by His Prophets, or His Saints. Elias restored the widow's son, Eliseus the boy given so strangely to the Sunamite woman. In these there was, as it were, a struggle between death and life, death retreated



unwillingly. Not till the Lord of life came could any speak absolutely, so that the power might work without hindrance. Jesus alone could say, "Damsel, arise," or "Lazarus, come forth," with the same calmness with which He said all else that passed His gracious lips ; Him alone can we address :

Thou madest Life in man and brute ;  
Thou madest Death ; and lo, Thy foot  
Is on the skull which Thou hast made.

But the gift was afterwards bestowed on the Saints in much the same manner as it had been on the Prophets. St. Benedict, in the sixth century, did not say to the peasant who implored him to give him again his dead son : "Go thy way, thy son liveth," like his master, but he prostrated himself on the body of the child in prayer, and the child's soul came back again. And in the fifteenth century, St. Casimir the King raised a girl to life by the touch of his body, and a boy carried to the tomb of St. Peter of Luxembourg was restored, though in his case the skull had been fractured and the brain in part dashed out.

This brings us to those miracles which cause so great perplexity in these later days, those which are wrought by relics, that is, to put it plainly, by the material contact of the body of a dead Saint, or a portion of it, or the touch of some garment from the sacred body. The sanctity of relics is brought out but little in the Old Testament, but coming into strong prominence in the New, it has remained with the Church to this day, and relics are one of the two main channels in which God's power is manifested to man. The instance in the Old Testament is so typical that it may well be quoted at length, especially as it is one of the most wonderful works wrought by relics : "And Eliseus died and they buried him. And the rovers from Moab came into the land the same year. And some that were burying a man saw the rovers, and cast the body into the sepulchre of Eliseus. And when it had touched the bones of Eliseus, the man came to life, and stood upon his feet."

Of course the central point of all such wonders is the healing touch of the garments worn by our Blessed Lord, whether those spoken of in the Gospels ; or another, if not the same, coat worn by our Lord, and now preserved at Trèves ; but closely linked with these are the handkerchiefs which had touched the body of St. Paul, and healed the sick to whom they were applied.

It must be remembered that the miracles wrought by such relics, the Holy Coat, or a thorn from the Crown worn on the Cross, or a fragment of the Cross itself, or the relics of the Saints are, conversely, testimonies to the authenticity of the relics themselves.

This class of miracles is especially interesting, as it is that to which more than any other the Church has set her seal, not only as happening in times past, but as existing down to and in our own days. She has made miracles the test, or at least one of the tests of sanctity. Every man or woman admitted into her calendar of Saints must have two proved miracles to his or her account, and these are necessarily for the most part connected with relics.

Another class is associated with objects, not relics, into which, under certain conditions, the gift of healing is infused. For Naaman the Syrian, healing power was infused into the waters of Jordan only, the rivers of Syria being powerless in his case. The Pool of Siloam was troubled each day for the first who stepped into it, and in that case our Lord revealed the power of God that underlay the waters, by healing directly without their aid. The works done at many fountains are attested by many scientific men, who believe their virtue, in spite of preconceived ideas, whether, as at St. Winifred's Well, the powers of the water have been known and proved through centuries, or have been manifested but recently as at Lourdes or Oostacker.

Indeed, not to specify every class under which miracles may be grouped, it is not too much to say that there are few such occurrences which have not a prototype in the Old Testament, a fulfilment in the New, a repetition in the Lives of the Saints and the history of the Church; and if in some cases the exact counterpart is not found in later history, it is only because the Lives of the Saints are so crowded with miracle, that it is not always possible, as it is not necessary, to find among so great a treasure the exact detailed equivalent. But the parallels which present themselves without difficulty will show at once what is meant.

The Prophet Habacuc was carried from Judæa to Babylon by the Angel of the Lord, that he might feed Daniel in the den of lions with the pottage which he was bearing to the reapers at home; and in like manner Philip the Deacon was transported from Gaza to Azotus. Elias gained abundance

of rain ; so did St. Scholastica, the sister of St. Benedict. If Elias and Eliseus multiplied meal and oil, thus anticipating our Lord's miracles of the loaves and fishes ; so after Him did St. John Joseph of the Cross multiply food so lately as the early part of the eighteenth century ; and St. Agnes of Montepulciano in the thirteenth.

If the three holy children walked unharmed in the midst of the burning fiery furnace ; so St. Lucy remained unscathed, though resin and oil were poured on the fire into which she was thrown, and St. Cecilia remained a day and a night in an hot air bath heated seven times beyond its wont ; so too St. Peter Gonzalez lay on hot burning coals uninjured, to save the soul of a woman who tempted him to sin.

The face of Moses beamed with rays of light, when he came from out the more immediate presence of God, in prophecy of that Transfiguration of Jesus which the disciples saw upon the mountain ; and so the face of St. Francis Caracciolo, in the seventeenth century, emitted brilliant beams of light before the Blessed Sacrament.

Moses struck the rock in the desert, so that there flowed a rill for the refreshing of Israel ; and St. Isidore of Madrid in time of drought made the sign of the Cross on dry ground, and pierced the soil with his ox goad, so that thence flowed waters which run even till this day and are endowed with healing virtue.

St. Hyacinth, in the thirteenth century, walked the waters of the Dnieper, as our Lord walked the waves of the Galilæan Lake ; but he bare the image of our Lady and the Sacred Host in his hands, so that He who trod the waves before him, and stretched out his hand to St. Peter as he was sinking, was really the power who held him up.

At the outset of this essay words were cited from Cardinal Newman, as introducing the subject. The whole passage may be quoted as summing up the argument :

The Catholic Church from east to west, from north to south is, according to our conceptions, hung with miracles. The store of relics is inexhaustible ; they are multiplied through all lands, and each particle of each has in it at least a dormant, perhaps an energetic virtue of supernatural operation. At Rome there is the True Cross, the crib of Bethlehem, and the chair of St. Peter ; portion of the crown of thorns are kept at Paris ; the holy coat is shown at Trèves ;

the winding-sheet at Turin ; at Monza, the iron crown is formed out of a nail of the Cross, and another nail is claimed for the Duomo of Milan ; and pieces of our Lady's habit are to be seen in the Escorial. The Agnus Dei, blessed medals, the scapular, the cord of St. Francis, are all the medium of Divine manifestations and graces. Crucifixes have bowed the head to, and Madonnas have bent their eyes upon, assembled crowds. St. Januarius's blood liquefies periodically at Naples, and St. Winifred's Well is the scene of wonders even in an unbelieving country. Women are marked with the sacred stigmata ; blood has flowed on Fridays from their five wounds, and their heads are crowned with a circle of lacerations. Relics are ever touching the sick, the diseased, the wounded, sometimes with no result at all, at other times with marked and undeniable efficacy. Who has not heard of the abundant favours gained by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and of the marvellous consequences which have attended the invocation of St. Antony of Padua ? These phenomena are sometimes reported of saints in their lifetime, as well as after death, especially if they were evangelists or martyrs. The wild beasts crouched before their victims in the Roman amphitheatre ; the axe-man was unable to sever St. Cecilia's head from her body, and St. Peter elicited a spring of water for his jailor's baptism in the Mamertine. St. Francis Xavier turned salt water into fresh for five hundred travellers ; St. Raymond was transported over the sea on his cloak ; St. Andrew shone brightly in the dark ; St. Scholastica gained by her prayers a pouring rain ; St. Paul was fed by ravens, and St. Frances saw her Guardian Angel.

Cardinal Newman then discusses the reasons for disbelief in miracle since Biblical, or at least since Apostolic days, which we may condense, but using his own words.

Both they [the opponents], start with the miracles of the Apostles ; and then their first principle or presumption against our miracles is this, "What God did once, He is *not* likely to do again ;" while our first principle or presumption for our miracles is this, "What God did once He *is* likely to do again." They say, it cannot be supposed He will work *many* miracles ; we, it cannot be supposed He will work *few*.

Again :

They do not say, "St. Francis, or St. Antony, or St. Philip Neri did no miracles for the evidence for them is worth nothing," or, "because what *looked* like a miracle was not a miracle," no, but they say, "It is *impossible* they should have wrought miracles.

Again :

Catholics hold the mystery of the Incarnation, and the Incarnation is the most stupendous event which ever can take place on earth ; and after it, and henceforth I do not see how we can scruple at any miracle

on the mere ground of its being unlikely to happen. No miracle can be so great as that which took place in the holy house of Nazareth; it is infinitely more difficult to believe than all the miracles of the Breviary, of the martyrology, of saints' lives, of legends, of local traditions put together; and there is the grossest inconsistency on the very face of the matter, for any one so to strain out the gnat and swallow the camel as to profess what is inconceivable, yet to protest against what is surely within the limits of intelligible hypothesis. If, through Divine grace we once are able to accept the solemn truth that the Supreme Being was born of a mortal woman, what is there to be imagined which can offend us on the ground of its marvellousness? . . . When we start with assuming that miracles are not unlikely, we are putting forth a position which lies imbedded as it were, and involved in the great revealed fact of the Incarnation.

So much is plain at starting; but more is plain too.

Miracles are not only unlikely, they are positively likely; and for this simple reason, because, for the most part, when God begins He goes on. We conceive that when He first did a miracle, He began a series; what He commenced, He continued: what has been, will be. Surely this is good and clear reasoning. . . . Our first principles that miracles are not unlikely now is not at all a strange one in the mouths of those who believe that the Supreme Being came miraculously into this world, miraculously united Himself to man's nature, passed a life of miracles, and then gave His Apostles a greater gift of miracles than He exercised Himself. So far on the principle itself; and now, in the next place, see what comes of it.

This comes of it, that there are two systems going on in the world, one of nature, and one above nature; and two histories, one of common events, and one of miracles; and each system and each history has its own order.

And as a conclusion of what he has said we find this clear statement:

For myself, lest I seem in any way to be shrinking from a determinate judgment on the claims of some miracles and relics . . . and to be hiding particular questions in what is vague and general, I will avow distinctly that, putting out of the question the hypothesis of unknown laws of nature (that is, of the professed miracle being not miraculous), I think it impossible to withstand the evidence which is brought for the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, and for the motion of the eyes of the pictures of the Madonna in the Roman States. I see no reason to doubt the material of the Lombard crown at Monza, and I do not see why the holy coat at Trèves may not have been what it professes to be. I firmly believe that portions of the True Cross are at

Rome and elsewhere, that the crib of Bethlehem is at Rome and the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul also. I believe that at Rome too lies St. Stephen, that St. Matthew lies at Salerno, and St. Andrew at Amalfi. I firmly believe that the relics of the saints are doing innumerable miracles and graces daily, and that it needs only for a Catholic to show devotion to any saint in order to receive special benefits from his intercession. I firmly believe that saints in their lifetime have before now raised the dead to life, crossed the sea without vessels, multiplied grain and bread, cured incurable diseases, and superseded the operation of the laws of the universe in a multitude of ways.

And here our essay might close, but that we must not press the argument too far, and that we are bound to consider if there be any, and, if any, what difference between ecclesiastical miracles and those recorded in the Scriptures. We answer that there is no difference in principle; it is of faith, that God who worked hitherto in that manner still continues to work. But there is a difference in detail. The Scriptural miracles, one and all, rest on Divine faith, and each must be accepted without doubt. But although miracles out of Scripture become the objects of private faith, no Catholic is bound to believe in any particular miracle of this kind; but he cannot without unsound doctrine deny that miracles have occurred since the Apostolic age. Every Catholic again "owes respect to the judgment of high ecclesiastical authority; but within these limits he is left to the freedom and the responsibilities of private judgment."

Enough, however, has surely been said to show that if we reject not one here or there, on which it may be right that we suspend our judgment, but whole classes of miracles, because of their unlikelihood, we cut the ground from under all others of the same class. And if we rest our belief on evidence, it is impossible to have more than exists in the case, especially, of modern miracles, which have been examined for processes of canonization or beatification. No legal tribunal sifts facts in a more thorough manner than does the Congregation of Rites.

It is possible to say consistently: There is no such thing as miracle; the universe is a mere mechanism, which came into action none knows how, but at any rate acts by changeless law; it is not possible to say that it once existed, but ceased at this or that precise period, and the reign of changeless law now obtains. What is this but to take the finger and guidance of God away from His creation, and to say that the heart of the universe has ceased to beat.

If it be true that "every fatherhood is of God," and that all rule, authority, and power are signs of Him; so, conversely, must it be true that all that we call good government, order, and rule in a family or a state shows forth the mode in which He directs His creation. And that is the best government in which the ordinary operations of life go on unmarked and evenly, but in which the master or ruler manifests his authority from time to time, whether in the way of change, or evidence of direct governance. That rule is not best which is merely mechanical, but that which shows itself as order tempered by love, regularity varied by change.

We cannot expect that all can actually witness the evidence of God's interference in His world, any more than all the many millions of an earthly sovereign can see his progress and his state. But they know that his pageants and processions take place from time to time, he flashes a message of condolence in calamities, he exercises now and then his prerogative of mercy, he dispenses honours and rewards; many are gratified by the favours given to one.

And so with God's governance. We believe that our King rules; and does honour to His saints, and to the crowd here and there because of His saints. Round such and such an holy well or image His powers cluster and throng; here and there, now and then, bright angels who "always stand in order serviceable" flash into sight, or show without vision that they are present. It is a part of His order now and then to break His order, to prove that it rests upon His will. We know Him in the constant succession of light and dark, in the steady sequence of cause and effect, in all the order which He called good; and we know Him also in a miracle and wonder, underlying His law from the beginning; the visible evidence of eternal power, infinite wisdom, everlasting love.

C. KEGAN PAUL.



## *The Huguenots.*

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### II.

THE Huguenot movement had, as we have seen, for its deliberate purpose the establishment of a new one on the ruins of the old faith in France; but as this could be attained only by the overthrow of the monarchy, the movement was from the first, and by the necessity of the case, a rebellion against the civil no less than the religious constitution of the kingdom. The Huguenots were, therefore, not merely religious fanatics and firebrands; they were rebels and traitors to boot, their rebellion against the Church going ever hand in hand with their treason to the State, so necessarily and inseparably that, as France learnt to her cost, to tolerate the one was to come to terms with the other.

The religion of Calvin, so at any rate thought Voltaire, tends naturally to the establishment of republicanism, and an historian of the sixteenth century, writing of the *estat huguenot*, describes it as a republic tempered by the aristocratic element, a republic living within the bosom of the monarchy and labouring for its overthrow, since the two forms of government being incompatible, neither could hope to exist except on the ruins of its rival.<sup>1</sup> Duplessis Mornay, another writer of the sixteenth century, speaking of the possibility of combining the errors of heresy with the qualities of a good citizen, stated what was then considered by the majority of men an incredible paradox, *Que ce n'estoit pas incompatible d'estre bon huguenot et bon François tout ensemble*.<sup>2</sup> "The old reproach," says Dr. Kitchin, in his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "that the Huguenots are all republicans, has at last (that is, under the Third Republic) turned to their credit. They form a group of loyal citizens on whom French politicians now

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires de Saulx-Tavannes*. Collection Michaud, c. vii. p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> Duplessis, *Mém. et Correspond.* vol. i. p. 146.

look with favour." Brantôme affirms that he had it from a servant of La Renaudie, a leader in the conspiracy of Amboise (1560), that the idea of the ringleaders of the plot was to do away with the King and establish a republic.<sup>1</sup> The celebrated lawyer Dumoulin broke with the Huguenots, on the ground that their ministers, mostly foreigners who drew their inspiration from Geneva, were imbued with fanatical and seditious principles which incited to contempt of the law, gave the reins to licence, and left no stone unturned to shake the loyalty of the King's lieges.<sup>2</sup> As Calvin, in his *Commentary on David*, taught that the king who does not place his power at the service of the Reformation, abdicates his functions as a king, forfeits his dignity as a man, and can therefore have no further claim to the obedience of his subjects, it is not surprising to find his emissaries in France stirring up everywhere the spirit of democracy, exciting the public mind against taxation, and undermining the King's power by publicly preaching, that the sovereign has just so much authority as it pleases the people to give him, and not a jot more.<sup>3</sup> General assemblies of the Huguenots were convened more than once at Nîmes and in other towns for the formation and establishment of a republican *régime*, in which the whole of France was mapped out into districts to be governed by leaders responsible to the general assembly of La Rochelle.<sup>4</sup> The seditious arrogance of these synods went the length, in their attempt to control the action of the Crown, of forbidding it to acknowledge the Council of Trent, and of even quarrelling with the King's choice of a Spanish princess for his wife, so that Louis XIII. was obliged to send a powerful escort for the protection of his bride from the attacks of his Protestant subjects.<sup>5</sup> The Parliament of Paris alone passed more than a hundred decrees to control the rebellious spirit of these sectaries who, as Mosheim, a Protestant writer naturally prejudiced in favour of the Huguenots, confesses, had contrived, in spite of every difficulty, to set up an *imperium in imperio*, and to the violence of whose chiefs he ascribes the war of 1621.<sup>6</sup> There can, therefore, be little doubt that if Protestantism had prevailed

<sup>1</sup> De Thou, t. v. p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires de Condé*.

<sup>3</sup> Trignon, *Hist. de France*, c. iii. p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> Henri Martin, *Hist. de France*, vol. ix. p. 411, &c.; Capefigue's *Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Capefigue's *Richelieu*, vol. i. pp. 123, 124; Bazin, *Hist. de Louis XIII.* vol. i. pp. 364, &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Ecc. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 237, 238.

in France it would have overturned the monarchy, since wherever it was successful it at once established itself in the form of a tyrannical theocracy of the republican type.<sup>1</sup>

But what more than all else made the Huguenot movement so formidable, was not the numerical strength of the sectaries—they were at their best always a comparatively small minority—but in addition to their untiring pertinacity, the marvellous organization of their system. The conspiracy against Church and State had grown, long before the actual outbreak of hostilities, into a vast secret society embracing well-nigh the whole of France in the meshes of its widespread net. It was recruited from every rank of society. The noble and the rich joined it to supplant their rivals, the middle classes to enrich themselves, chiefly at the expense of the Church, and the lower orders cajoled or coerced by the preachers of the new opinions. In every province of the kingdom it had long been busy undermining the authority of the King's officers—whenever these last did not happen to be members of the sect—levying men and money, sweeping the tithes and other Church revenues into the Huguenot coffers, commissioning officers, from the highest to the lowest grades, to command their troops, selecting their banners, fortifying cities, and filling their arsenals with the munitions of war.<sup>2</sup> In a word, the preparations for a rising were kept in so advanced a state, that when in 1562, and again in 1567, the storm burst and the Huguenots sprang to their feet in open rebellion, the writers of those times in telling the story have, as Ranke remarks, to travel back to the wars of Mithridates to find an exact parallel to the Huguenot outbreak for secrecy of design and rapidity of execution.<sup>3</sup>

But there is worse still to be told, and a heavier charge than even that of rebellion to be made against the French Huguenots. They were not only rebels in arms against their lawful sovereign; they were moreover traitors, ready and keen to barter away the honour of their country to its hereditary foes. If to the possession of great natural gifts and brilliant soldierly qualities,

<sup>1</sup> Capefigue says in plain terms: "Les Calvinistes sont le parti anti-national, un parti de morcellement, un fédéralisme provincial; ils font ravager la France par les reîtres et les lansquenets; et il faudra bien dire une fois pour toutes que le parti catholique et des ligueurs conserva seul la nationalité française." (*La Réforme et la Ligue*, p. 474.)

<sup>2</sup> *Essai sur les événements qui ont précédé et amené la Saint-Barthélemy*, p. 19. Thèse présentée à la Faculté de Théologie de Strasbourg, par J. J. Fauriel.

<sup>3</sup> *History of France*, &c., vol. i. p. 343. (Translation, Garvey.)

Condé and Coligny had added in reality all the extraordinary merits ascribed to them by the partiality of Protestant writers, their claims to the homage of mankind would be more than cancelled by their shameful and shameless treason to King and country. Finding, after the failure of the conspiracy of Amboise, that without foreign help their prospects of success in the war they were levying against their King were of the dimmest, Condé, Coligny, and his brother d'Andelot,<sup>1</sup> instigated and encouraged by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton,<sup>2</sup> who had long laboured to stir up rebellion in the kingdom to which he was accredited, applied to Queen Elizabeth for pecuniary and military aid in the war they were waging against their King. Accordingly we find that after protracted negotiations a treaty was at length formally concluded between the Queen of England, the ally of Charles IX., on the one side, and the Prince of Condé, a subject in arms against his Sovereign on the other, by which Elizabeth undertook to advance the sum of one hundred thousand crowns and to land an army of six thousand men on the coast of Normandy, whilst the Huguenot chiefs were to surrender into her hands Rouen, Dieppe, and Havre-de-Grâce, to be detained by her as security not only for the repayment of the money, but also for the restoration

<sup>1</sup> Another brother of the Admiral was the Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, Bishop of Beauvais. An apostate to Calvinism, he had the effrontery to get publicly married in his Cardinal's robes. His life was so disreputable that the very Huguenots were ashamed of his shamelessness. Degraded, deposed, and excommunicated by St. Pius V., he fled into England, where he acted for a short time as the agent of his party. He died in 1567, and lies buried in Canterbury Cathedral. See Berault-Bercastel, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, t. xix. l. 66, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> If Queen Catherine of Medicis, whose conscience was not more delicate than that of Elizabeth herself, had taken and hanged this gentleman to the highest lamp-post in Paris, the punishment would not have been much severer than his base conduct merited. Anyhow Elizabeth would scarcely have been in a position to resent the rough treatment of her ambassador, for we find her acting very summarily with foreign envoys delated to her for similar malpractices. The case of the Bishop of Ross is a case in point. He was "resident" of the Queen of Scots at the Court of Elizabeth. When seized and committed to the Tower for alleged secret intrigues, and in particular for fomenting a rebellion against Elizabeth, he invoked the privileges of an ambassador to extricate him from the difficulty. But Burleigh answered him: "That neither the privileges of an embassy, nor letters of publick warrantise could protect ambassadors that offended against the publick majesty of a prince, but were liable to punishment." To which Ross retorted by expressing a hope, that "they would not show him fouler play than the English Ambassador Throckmorton in France, and Randolph and Tamworth in Scotland had found, who had raised rebellions and openly fomented them, and yet suffered no greater punishment than the being commanded to depart within such a time." (See the *Harleian Miscellany*, or, Collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining Pamphlets, &c., vol. i. pp. 405-408.)

of Calais with the adjoining territories to the English.<sup>1</sup> To the dignified remonstrances made by the French Ambassador before the Lords of the Council against the assistance thus given to "felony and rebellion,"<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth returned the hypocritical answer, that her only motive in interfering between the French King and his subjects was to preserve both the one and the other from the tyranny of the Guises, and that as for Condé she hears nothing from him but what "becometh and standeth with the duty of godly, true, and faithful subjects to the King of France;"<sup>3</sup> she moreover refused to believe that the requisition to withdraw her troops from Normandy came from Charles himself, because it was, she said, the duty of a king to protect his subjects from oppression and to accept with gratitude the help offered him for the purpose.<sup>4</sup> This miserable cant and flimsy sophistry deceived no one. The Prince himself was perfectly alive to the serious risks to which his treasonable conduct exposed him, as is proved by the promise of succour he extracted from the Queen of England, in case "he and the Admiral of France should be taken prisoners and their lives be in danger because they permitted her to enter Newhaven (Havre-de-Grâce)."<sup>5</sup> His own followers even came to look upon Condé as a traitor to his country. Men could not help contrasting his conduct with that of the Duke of Guise. It was the chief glory of the latter to have expelled the English from the last stronghold they possessed in France, and had held for upwards of two hundred years, as it will be the enduring infamy of his opponent to have recalled that enemy, and to have basely handed over to him two of the most important sea-ports of the kingdom in exchange for the one he had lost.

But I have anticipated a little. There had been treason nearer home two years before these underhand dealings with

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, *History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 309, 310. See also Articles of Agreement between the Queen and Condé in the Calendar of State Papers (*Foreign*), September 20, 1562, n. 663.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. State Papers, *Ibid.* n. 878.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* nn. 927, 928.

<sup>4</sup> Cal. State Papers (*Foreign*), 1562, nn. 667, 927, 928. See also Lingard, loc. cit. p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> State Papers, September 20, 1562, n. 666. See also a curious letter from Smith to Elizabeth (Cal. State Papers, A.D. 1563, n. 559), in which he mentions a proposal made to him by Condé for a marriage between Charles IX., a boy in his teens, and Elizabeth, double his age, with this inducement, that, "if she should incline that way, she should have one of the greatest princes in Europe. *She would govern France and England, expel all Papists, and set the Gospel so abroad that all Christendom should be fain to take it.*"

the English. The first overt act in the strife that was to drench France with the blood of her own sons, was a treasonable attempt, known in history as the Conspiracy of Amboise, probably hatched at Geneva under the eye of Calvin himself and certainly countenanced by the Queen of England,<sup>1</sup> to seize upon the person of the King, Francis II., and place the government of France in the hands of the Huguenot leaders. In the council held at La Ferté, on the borders of Picardy, the conspirators deliberated whether they should rid themselves entirely of the royal family and the Guises; but the majority decided that assassination would throw too much discredit on the party and rouse all France against them.<sup>2</sup> The plot was, however, discovered by the vigilance and defeated by the promptitude of the Duke of Guise. Condé, and Coligny, to divert suspicion, actually fought against their own party; La Renaudie, a reckless, roving soldier of fortune, who to screen his chiefs in the event of failure had consented to play the dangerous part of leader of the insurgents, perished in the conflict, and great numbers of the conspirators were taken and summarily executed. The failure of this attempt against the King broke the project of the Huguenot chiefs, to whom the origin of the conspiracy was clearly traced and who were only saved from punishment by an unexpected event, which revived and invigorated their hopes. Francis II. died this same year, 1560, and the Queen mother, Catherine of Medicis, being appointed regent during the minority of her next son Charles IX., a boy of ten, summoned to her side Condé and the other Huguenot chiefs, in the hope of thus neutralizing the ascendancy of the house of Guise.<sup>3</sup>

It was not the least of the misfortunes of France that her destinies fell, at this crisis of her history, into the hands of this unscrupulous woman and her sickly brood of vicious boy-kings. Her policy consisted wholly in a game of see-saw, favouring now the Catholic and now the Protestant party, but allowing neither to preponderate, that between the two she might continue to rule supreme. The Huguenots, therefore, who were given the first turn of royal favour, were quick to avail themselves of the opportunity. The years 1560—61 were accordingly fruitful in turbulence and outrage. The Huguenot

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii. pp. 287, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Capefigue, ii. 107.; De Thou, i. xxiv.; Matthieu, i. iv. p. 213.; Le Laboureur, i. 512.

<sup>3</sup> Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii. pp. 308, seq.



preachers everywhere stirred up the people to rebellion; they exhorted their brethren in the provinces to make themselves masters of the fortified towns, and drew up petitions full of exorbitant demands, which Coligny urged upon the Government with the significant words, that he was in a position to back them up with an armed force of 150,000 men. The city of Nîmes was kept all through the year 1561 in a state of continual panic by the frequent raids of armed bands of Huguenots who, with the connivance of the magistrates, broke into the churches, desecrated the shrines, expelled the monks and nuns from monastery and convent, and committed everywhere the most appalling profanations.<sup>1</sup> The same or similar scenes were enacted at Montauban, Castres, and Montpellier, in which last place two hundred Catholics were massacred in cold blood. A month before the affair at Vassy, about which I shall have a word to say presently, Languet, himself a Huguenot and the historian of his party, boasted in a letter to the Elector of Saxony, that the *idols* were all broken, and that not a priest dared show his head in Gascony, in Lower Languedoc, and in Provence as far as the Pyrenees, for a circuit of forty leagues.<sup>2</sup> And all this, be it remembered, in time of peace and at the very moment when, as this same Languet confesses in another of his letters, the Catholics were making strenuous efforts to promote a better understanding with their opponents.

Matters were now ready for an explosion. Non-Catholic writers, French and English, attribute the formal outbreak of the first civil war to an affray, commonly called by them the Massacre of Vassy, which occurred March 1st, 1562, and in which about sixty of the Huguenots were killed by the followers of the Duke of Guise. But against this contention we urge, first, that to the Huguenots, evidently from their previous turbulence bent upon war, but without a colourable pretext for beginning it—the edict of January had just suspended the penal laws and given them ample freedom for the exercise of their religion—the accident happened most opportunely; secondly, that there is good reason for believing the affray to have been provoked by the Huguenots themselves; thirdly, the dying declaration of the Duke of Guise, preserved by Brantôme, who was present both at Vassy and at the Duke's death, to the effect that the affray was in nowise premeditated,

<sup>1</sup> Ménard, *Hist. de la ville de Nîmes*, liv. xiv. passim.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres de Languet*, passim.



and that, when he would have put an end to it, his conciliatory words were met by the Protestants with a shower of stones, which so exasperated his men that they could no longer be controlled;<sup>1</sup> fourthly, that the affray happened on the 1st of March, and yet the Calvinists had begun to arm at Nîmes on the 19th of February, and were in the field and had defeated De Flassans by the 6th of March, only five days after the massacre.<sup>2</sup> It is clear, then, that the massacre at Vassy was not the cause, but at most the occasion of the war, its lame excuse and pretext, the date of the commencement of open hostility, the electric spark that kindled the highly inflammable material, with which France was full, and which the Huguenots had themselves for long years been industriously collecting to set the country ablaze with the flames of civil strife.

It would be going beyond the limits of this paper to tell in detail the story of the war which now broke out in every province of the kingdom, and in which each party displayed a rage for blood and vengeance inseparable from civil and religious strife. It will be enough for our purpose to point out that the contest, from its commencement to its close two years before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, is made up of three distinct periods or separate civil wars, followed by as many abortive attempts at a permanent pacification; that, though cities and even provinces were won and lost again and again by both Catholics and Protestants, the Catholics came out victorious from each of these wars by winning the pitched battles of Dreux in 1563, of Saint-Denis in 1567, and of Jarnac and Moncontour in 1569; that, most noteworthy of all, perhaps, as showing that the Catholics were not unwilling to live and let live, after each of these wars terms were granted to the Huguenots nearly as favourable—a full amnesty, that is to say, for the past and ample freedom of conscience for the future—as they could have obtained if they had been the victorious instead of the defeated party; and that the latter, as usual, showed their appreciation of these mercies by hatching fresh plots, and conspiring once again (September, 1567) to surprise the Court and carry off the person of the King, at Meaux.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, t. xix. pp. 309, seq.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 310. See also, on the subject of the affray at Vassy, Daniel, *Hist. de France*, t. x. p. 167, Anquetil, *Esprit de la Ligue*, t. i. p. 150; H. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ix. p. 114; Ranke, *Civil Wars*, &c., pp. 310—312; La Popelinière, vol. iv. p. 283; De Thou, t. iv. p. 169.

There are, however, just two points requiring a word of notice before we conclude. I refer to the murder of the Duke of Guise, and the vandalism and cruelties of the Huguenots; because non-Catholic writers have a way of forgetting or ignoring these details, to concentrate the attention of their readers on the one great crime of the Catholics on St. Bartholomew's day in 1572, to the exclusion of matters which, nevertheless, have a considerable bearing on that deplorable event.

Early in March, 1563, whilst Coligny was giving Normandy, in lieu of pay, to the plunder of his German mercenaries, and the Royalists besieging Orleans were hourly anticipating its fall, their distinguished leader, the Duke of Guise, was assassinated by one Poltrot, a deserter from the Huguenot army in the pay of Coligny. What hand, if any, had the latter in this foul murder? The question, however distasteful, is very much to our purpose, for from the hour of the Duke's murder down to his own, ten years later, at the hands of the murdered man's son and successor, Coligny never succeeded in quite clearing himself from the suspicion that he had taken an active part in the assassination of his great rival. If the Admiral had been in truth the model of integrity his apologists and the imagination of poets<sup>1</sup> have laboured to make of him; if to military qualities he undoubtedly possessed he had added the virtues he as undoubtedly did not possess; if, in short, instead of a rebel and a traitor he had been a very Bayard, without fear and without reproach, his high character alone would have formed a sufficient refutation of the hateful accusation. Most Protestant historians, therefore, believing no doubt sincerely in his personal probity, but who shut their eyes to his manifold acts of rebellion and treason, exonerate him from the charge.<sup>2</sup> Others, however, who cannot so easily get over the fact that he was in plain language an apostate from the faith, a rebel, and a traitor, long animated by jealousy, on both private and public grounds, of the great

<sup>1</sup> See Voltaire's *Henriade*. See also Dr. Heinrick Brueck's *History of the Catholic Church*, vol. ii. p. 185, note, in which he states, that on one occasion at Sully, Coligny had thirty-five priests made away with and their bodies thrown into the Loire, and that on another at Pithiviers he had all the priests hanged.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke inclines to the belief that Coligny had a guilty knowledge of the murder, if he did not actively connive at it. He says: "Coligny guarded himself from giving the fanatic any encouragement; but on the other hand, he did not prevent him, considering it sufficient that he had warned the Duke of a similar attempt formerly." (*Civil Wars*, &c. vol. i. pp. 324, 325.) A lame defence this, if it does not amount to a positive condemnation of Coligny!

Duke, with whom he had once been united by the ties of the closest friendship, will perhaps be pardoned if they call for something more convincing than doubtful testimonials to character, before dismissing the suspicion altogether from their minds.

Now there is no lack of evidence which, if not conclusive of Coligny's participation in the murder, is quite strong enough to justify the gravest suspicion of his guilt. In the first place his mind, if we may take the word of a couple of French historians by no means unfavourable to the Admiral and his cause, was so clouded by fanaticism that he held the pestilent doctrine of the lawfulness of tyrannicide.<sup>1</sup> Anyhow, his own contemporaries seem to have thought him quite capable of the crime. Margaret of Valois never had a doubt of it,<sup>2</sup> and *teste* Davila,<sup>3</sup> public opinion at once pointed to Coligny and Beza as having both had a hand in the murder. But setting these testimonies aside, we have some important avowals of the Admiral himself. In the Calendar of our own State Papers are to be seen two somewhat laboured apologies "of the Admiral of France for his purgation from the death of the Duke of Guise," written within a few days of the murder, and showing, therefore, amongst other things, how quickly suspicion had pointed its finger at the great Huguenot chief.<sup>4</sup> The substance of these statements bears out Lingard's opinion that if "Coligny did not instigate the assassin, he knew of, and connived at, the intended assassination."<sup>5</sup> For we have his own admission; first, that he gave the murderer Poltrot one hundred crowns to buy himself a horse for his journey to Orleans; secondly, that, when he availed himself of the services of this man as a spy on the movements of Guise, he knew that the varlet had long premeditated and publicly vaunted his design of killing the Duke; thirdly, that "when Poltrot told him he would be glad to kill the Duke of Guise, he (Coligny) never answered one word to say it would be well or evil done, and as little did he believe it could or would be done;" and fourthly, that he was animated by the fiercest animosity against the Duke, since he declares, in a very different

<sup>1</sup> Trognon, *Hist. de France*, tom. iii. pp. 280, 281; H. Martin, *Hist. de France*, tom. ix. p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires de Marguerite de Valois*. Lud. Lalenne (1858), p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. etc.* p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Calendar of State Papers (*Foreign*) *Elizabeth*, March 19, 1563, nn. 476—478.

<sup>5</sup> Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 320. See note, in which the reader is referred to Petitot's *Collection*, xxxiii. 281.

spirit from that which animated the Duke of Wellington towards Napoleon on the field of Waterloo, that "Guise was the man of all others the Admiral sought most to meet with at the last battle, and that if he could have planted a cannon against him to slay him, he would have done it, and if he had had ten thousand arquebuisers at his command he would have commanded them to have shot at him before any other, had it been in a field, over a wall, or behind a hedge. In short, he would have spared none of these ways (which by law of arms are permitted in time of hostility) to rid himself of such an enemy as he was to him and many others of the King's good subjects." He ends by protesting his innocence before God and His angels, and by inviting "any that would be more certain to come and speak with him and he will answer them." He, nevertheless, steadily refused to allow his case to be tried by any of the Parliaments of France, alleging that "he desired to satisfy only those who make a profession of arms, for he knows that such a case happening in time of war is not subject to be purged by way of justice;" finally, he screened himself, as a last resource, behind the general amnesty accorded by the Edict of Pacification at the end of the war—a mode of defence on a par, it will perhaps be thought, with the insolvent debtor's declaration of bankruptcy. Years after, it is true, he was formally acquitted by the King's Council; but the court was then packed with the Admiral's adherents, and the act by which the murdered man's family acquiesced in the verdict was manifestly dictated by policy rather than by a sincere belief in its justice. They remembered and avenged the crime on the terrible day of St. Bartholomew. In fine, whether Coligny was an accomplice or not in the foul murder of his rival, those who read his two apologies will probably share the opinion of the Admiral's friends, when they expressed a wish "that he had either held his tongue or defended himself to better purpose."<sup>1</sup>

One word more. This necessarily meagre sketch would be still more incomplete if it passed over in silence, as non-Catholics often do, the many massacres and acts of vandalism

<sup>1</sup> Pasquier, liv. iv. p. 108. Though the depositions of the Duke's murderer, Poltrot, can scarcely be admitted as evidence against Coligny, inasmuch as he varied a good deal in his statements, it is nevertheless noteworthy that, when brought face to face with death in the hour of his execution, he made three separate and distinct declarations to the effect that he had been instigated by the Admiral to kill the Duke of Guise *pour le service de Dieu*. (See Bossuet, *Variations*, l. x. c. 55.)

perpetrated by the Huguenots in the ten short years of these three civil wars. Though none of these massacres equal in the number of the slain the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, they have generally a character of greater wantonness, of more inhuman cruelty and deliberate malice. Orleans, Le Mans, Troyes, Tours, Bayeux, Angers, Bourges, Rouen, Macon, La Rochelle, Grenoble, Poitiers, and many other towns, signalized their zeal for Calvin by scenes of indescribable horror, in which churches were spoiled, altars desecrated, the relics of the saints thrown to the winds, monks driven out of their convents, religious women outraged, and priests banished, hanged, or thrown headlong into wells or pits, and all this, be it remembered, by men who fought, so they said, only for freedom of conscience.<sup>1</sup> Lyons, which the Huguenots had vainly endeavoured to surprise in 1561, was betrayed into their hands a year later by its Governor, the Count de Sault, and fell a prey to the fury of the infamous Baron des Adrets, whose name figures constantly in our State Papers as being in treasonable correspondence with the enemies of his country, who delighted in the slaughter of priests, who hurled his victims for an after-dinner sport from the battlements on to the pikes of his soldiers below, and forced his Catholic prisoners to attend the *prêche*, "because," as he said with a profanity worthy of Cromwell, "it has pleased God to drive out every species of idolatry."<sup>2</sup>

Only one more example of Huguenot fanaticism. The outbreak of the second civil war was marked by a fiendish massacre committed at Nîmes on Michaelmas day, 1567, which is consequently known in France as the *Michelade*. Though studiously lost sight of by non-Catholic writers,<sup>3</sup> this is one of the most inhuman of many Huguenot atrocities, perpetrated without the excuse of sudden excitement, but at the instigation and with the approval of their Calvinistic preachers and synods. In reading the story one rubs one's eyes to make sure that one has not stumbled by mistake on an account of the September massacres executed by the

<sup>1</sup> Languet, *Lettres*, passim; Martin, *Hist.* tom. ix.; Lavallée, *Hist.* tom. i. &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon*, par Cl. De Rubys (1640); also for details of excesses committed at Lyons, see *Discours des premiers troubles advenus à Lyon*, par Gabriel de Saconay (an eye-witness), Lyon, 1569.

<sup>3</sup> Anquetil, Lavallée, and Ranke are silent on the point; H. Martin dismisses the subject in a note of two lines.

Jacobins of Paris two centuries later, so identical are the two stories in all their revolting details. There is the same cold-blooded deliberateness on the part of the murderers, the same absence of provocation or resistance on that of the victims. From the Hôtel de Ville, in which numbers of them had been previously secured, they were led out one by one, their throats cut, and their bodies cast into a deep well. This part of the butchery lasted for two hours by torchlight, and dawn of day found the assassins busy searching every house in the town, whence they dragged the Catholics, and without giving them time to say a last prayer, pitilessly shot or cut them down. In the number of victims, which reaches a total of one hundred and fifty, or according to others, of three hundred, was the Vicar-General of the diocese, who was first brutally paraded through the streets and exposed to the insults of the infuriated Huguenots, then cruelly murdered and precipitated into the well where the corpses of the other victims were already weltering.<sup>1</sup>

But it was not to man alone that the fanaticism of the Huguenots showed itself implacable; it vented its rage also on inanimate stone, on images and monuments, and churches and cathedrals, and on the sacred vessels of Catholic worship, doing more in a few years or months than the fury of the elements or the wear of time in centuries, to destroy the fairy-like productions of Christian art. This frenzy of demolition set in with the outbreak of the first civil war in 1562. With a sudden impulse, as if in obedience to a preconcerted signal, the Huguenot rebels burst, like demons of destruction, over the whole length and breadth of the land. The crowbar, the hammer, and the axe were plied with unflagging fury. Neither delicate tracery, nor richly-tinted window, nor the tombs of kings or heroes or saints found grace in their eyes. The elaborate workmanship of centuries perished in a day. No such havoc had been wrought in beautiful France since the days of the destroying Albigeois.<sup>2</sup> The loss, moreover, inflicted on learning

<sup>1</sup> Mesnard, *Histoire de Nîmes*, tom. v. p. 16; also D. Vaissette, *Hist. Générale de Languedoc*, tom. v. p. 298; Fauriel, loc. cit. Nîmes had once before been the scene of terrible outrages, when in 1561, amongst other horrors, the Sacred Host was committed to the flames. In the same year the same sacrilegious profanation was enacted in the Church of St. Médard in Paris, whereupon Beza writes to Calvin, Dec. 30, 1561, in the following blasphemous terms: "Qui hostibus armatis pepercerant, *idolis et panaceo illo Deo* parcere non potuerunt, frustra reclamantibus quibus ista non placebant."

<sup>2</sup> See Maitland's *Dark Ages*, pp. 231—233.



by these impious and illiterate fanatics is incalculable, and in too many instances irreparable, for their fell passage through the land is everywhere marked by the destruction of the ancient monasteries, together with the precious libraries and accumulated treasures of manuscripts they contained; so that when Charles IX. traversed France in 1564, he had to pick his way through a scene of ruin and desolation which recalled to mind the vandalism of the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

What wonder if such a storm of sacrilege and violence awoke in the breasts of the Catholic people a corresponding rage for blood, and excited a fierce spirit of retaliation, which reached its height in the appalling Massacre of St. Bartholomew. With the story of that terrible deed of blood I hope to deal in another paper: in the meantime, to sum up what has been said in this, when it is borne in mind that Calvinism in France, as everywhere else, was a political far more even than a religious movement, inciting to rebellion against Church and State alike; that the Huguenots were persistent in their efforts by all means, by secret treachery and open force, to uproot the Catholic faith and overturn the monarchy; that they twice conspired to seize the person of the King, thrice raised aloft the standard of rebellion, and though defeated in four pitched battles obstinately plotted on, always pardoned and always relapsing; that they publicly rejoiced in their conventicles over the murder by one of their number of the noble Duke of Guise,<sup>2</sup> deservedly popular with the French nation for his defence of Metz against Charles V. and his rescue of Calais out of the power of the English; that they entered into treasonable bargains with the inveterate and hereditary foe of their country, and delivered over to him two of its principal towns, the very keys of the kingdom, in pledge for a third; that in the first transports of

<sup>1</sup> See on this subject of the vandalism of the Huguenots, Rubys, loc. cit.; *Archives du Rhone* (1828); Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. x. p. 309; *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, tom. ii. pp. 67—73; *Lettres de Languet*, passim. Cf. also Picot, *Essai Hist. sur l'influence de la religion en France pendant le 17<sup>ème</sup> Siècle*. In Montpellier the Huguenots destroyed forty-six churches; in Orleans, nineteen; in the kingdom of Béarn, Coligny had three hundred churches demolished. In the dioceses of Azès, Nîmes, Viviers, and Mende, five hundred churches were levelled with the ground. The magnificent Cathedral at Béziers was transformed into a stable. About one hundred and fifty cathedrals and abbeys were reduced to ruin, the "idolatrous pictures" burnt, the sacred vessels desecrated, the altars and shrines overthrown.

<sup>2</sup> See Ranke, *Civil Wars*, vol. i. p. 219. "Even in the churches (Calvinistic)," he writes, "the act was spoken of as a righteous judgment of God."



uncontrolled "freedom of conscience" they overran whole provinces, destroying churches, invading monasteries, murdering priests, butchering unarmed men and women in thousands,<sup>1</sup> sacking and burning towns and villages literally by hundreds;—when these facts are borne in mind, there is surely no man so blindly prejudiced but will, whilst still execrating as heartily as we ourselves execrate, the retaliatory excesses of the Catholics, at least cease to regard the Huguenots as the helpless victims of an unprovoked and unmerited persecution.

WILLIAM LOUGHNAN.

<sup>1</sup> See Brueck, *Hist. of Catholic Church*, vol. ii. p. 185. "Over five thousand priests and members of religious orders have suffered martyrdom during the civil and religious wars. On the numerous martyrs belonging to the Order of St. Francis, see *Annales Minorum*, tom. xix.—xxi. &c."

## *Easter Island and its First Apostle.*

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### II.

THE vessel which Brother Eugene Eyraud and his young Kanacs had discerned beating about the shores of Easter Island, proved to be a small Chilian ship from Valparaiso, manned by four sailors, and bearing on board the Rev. Father Barnaby and Brother Hugues, of the Society of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. They had been sent by the Provincial of the Congregation, resident at Valparaiso, to learn what had become of Brother Eugene, of whom no intelligence had been received during the past nine months. In the course of their voyage they had encountered a violent storm, and for twenty-four days they were at the mercy of the winds and waves. To add to their misfortunes, their only chronometer had stopped, so that they were unable to ascertain their exact position. Under these circumstances the captain had determined to relinquish the object of his voyage and return to Chili, when suddenly the hills and the sharp and rugged coast of Easter Island appeared in view. Upon drawing near the land the wind increased, and the waves were seen to break with terrible violence over the rocky shores. It was necessary for safety's sake to wear the ship round, and seek a refuge for the night in the open sea.

As soon as morning dawned the captain directed the vessel towards the Bay of Anarova, and hoisted the French flag. The natives, who had flocked to the shore, waved a white flag in return, as a token of peace and to indicate a safe anchorage. As soon as their voices could be heard, they raised a general cry of *Holo mai, holo mai*—"Come, come," to which Father Barnaby replied in the same words, which belong also to the language of the Sandwich Islands. Thereupon a number of the Kanacs threw themselves into the sea and swam to the ship. A woman was the first to mount the sides of the vessel, and though she had never beheld a priest before, she no sooner set eyes on Father Barnaby, clad in his cassock and wearing

his crucifix, than she made the sign of the Cross and recited the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Creed in the Tahitian tongue. "Who," said the priest, "has taught you those beautiful prayers?" To which they all replied in one voice, "The *Papa*, the *Papa*." It may be remarked that the word *Papa* in the Kanac dialect does not mean Father, as in many other languages, but simply *Stranger*.

Assured of the safety of Brother Eugene from the enthusiastic manner in which the natives spoke of him, Father Barnaby and Brother Hugues determined at once to go in search of him. For this purpose they entered with a couple of rowers the little skiff or canoe belonging to the vessel, and directed their course towards the shore. The journey was one of considerable peril, for the Kanacs, to whom water appears like a native element, surrounded the boat so closely that it was almost impossible to use the oars. Meanwhile they took the opportunity of exercising their wonderful skill in pilfering, so celebrated in the journal of Captain Cook, and carried off from the boat everything on which they could lay their hands. At length, after nearly swamping the frail vessel, they began to disperse, swimming off with their booty.

Upon approaching land, a crowd of Kanacs appeared on the shore, armed with sticks and lances. Among them was one who, by the colour of his skin, appeared to be a European, but his singular and scanty apparel seemed to preclude the idea that it could by any possibility be Brother Eugene. Such, however, it proved to be, for in a moment he was carried through the surf, lifted on board the boat, and received into the arms of Father Barnaby. Thereupon the sailors, content with realizing the main object of their expedition, and anxious to escape any further attentions on the part of the Kanacs, turned the head of the boat and rowed back to the vessel.

Upon his arrival on board, the good Brother had the comfort of exchanging his rags and tatters for a suit of warm and becoming clothing. The next step was to provide him with a comfortable meal, for though the afternoon was far advanced, he had not yet broken his fast. Finally, he related the events of his nine months' sojourn on Easter Island, a history which was listened to by his sympathetic audience with mingled feelings of admiration and reverence. When he had concluded, he was informed by Father Barnaby of the desire of his Superiors that he should return with the vessel to Valparaiso,

where his presence would be of great utility in making suitable arrangements for the despatch of a permanent missionary expedition to the scene of his past labours. Notwithstanding his extreme reluctance to quit his beloved Kanacs, the obedient Brother acquiesced at once in the wishes of his Superiors, and a message was accordingly despatched on shore by means of the natives on board, to the effect that the *Papa* was going to Valparaiso in quest of priests, who would return with him to instruct and baptize the inhabitants. As soon as the messengers communicated the news of the approaching departure of the *Papas* to the assembled multitude, a mournful silence succeeded, and one by one the Kanacs retired to their homes, so that in a few moments no one was to be seen. It was on October 11, 1865, that Brother Eugene quitted the island where he had undergone so many labours and endured such great sufferings and privations with admirable zeal, patience, and self-denial.

After some months spent in organizing the expedition, Brother Eugene had the happiness of returning to his post in company of Father Hippolitus Roussel, to whom was entrusted the charge of the infant mission. In providing themselves with the stores necessary for their permanent establishment on the island, they took the precaution of guarding against any act of incendiarism by purchasing a number of sheets of galvanized zinc for the construction of houses. It was upon the auspicious feast of our Blessed Lady's Annunciation, 1866, that the two missionaries, accompanied by three Mangarevian Christians, landed in the Bay of Anarova, and, thanks to the intercession of their powerful patroness and the prayers offered up for their success in all the houses of the Society, they were enabled to land their goods and erect their dwelling without robbery or molestation.

It must not, however, be supposed that during the first period of their residence on the island they were permitted to enjoy much peace or quiet. For some weeks they were hardly able to close their eyes either night or day. The mob continually surrounded their cabin, singing, shouting, drumming on the zinc plates, and from time to time sending a shower of stones upon the roof. It was often necessary to close the shutters, so that not a ray of light could penetrate, and they were obliged even at mid-day to make use of a candle to enable them to read or write. When obliged to go out they had to pass between a double hedge of Kanacs, who were ever on

the watch for some favourable opportunity of pilfering. On returning home, they would sometimes find the keyhole of the door filled up with gravel, so that it was impossible to introduce the key. But this state of things did not last long. By insensible degrees Father Roussel began to acquire influence over the unruly multitude. They could not help respecting his constant firmness, his habitual good-humour, and his evident anxiety for their welfare. They saw that the stranger was not an ordinary man, they listened to his instructions, and began to experience the salutary influence of our holy religion. At the end of seven months everything was changed; and though a few evilly disposed and turbulent spirits remained to serve as instruments of Satan to trouble the work of God, the great mass of the people had learned to reverence and obey those who a few months before had been the object of their mockeries and insults.

While Father Roussel devoted himself to the work of instruction, the visitation of the sick, and the gradual preparation of the people for the reception of Baptism, the humble lay-brother who had sown the first seeds of Divine truth in the hearts of the inhabitants, applied himself with his usual energy to the material work of the mission. The result of his persevering labours, notwithstanding his failing health, may be described in the words of the captain of the *Tampico*, who visited the island a few months later, the bearer of fresh supplies for the mission, along with a reinforcement of apostolic labourers.

I have been surprised to see what the patience and labour of two men have been able to do in a few months. Where I thought I should see a poor cabin with a door hardly closed, there were well-built houses shut in with walls and fences, a chapel decorated with flowers, a shed for carts, a garden, &c. Around these were grounds cultivated and planted. I cannot say whether the intelligent labour of Brother Eugene or the angelic patience of Father Roussel surprised me most. I saw the little church crowded. I saw these savages who used to salute strangers with showers of stones, reciting our beautiful prayers on their knees in Kanak, in French, and in Latin.<sup>1</sup>

It was upon November 6, 1866, that the new missionaries, Father Zambohl and Brother Theodule, landed at Easter Island. They brought with them a collection of fruit-trees, various kinds of seeds, a cow and two calves, rabbits, pigeons, &c.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, xxviii. 222.

Their arrival produced a most favourable impression upon the Kanacs, and it was a subject of astonishment to those acquainted with the thievish habits of the natives to see the self-restraint which they exercised on this occasion, although the objects landed were of a nature greatly calculated to excite their cupidity. During the process of disembarkation they were wild with curiosity and excitement, and every fresh object was greeted with shouts of admiration. A wheel-barrow when put in motion seemed to them little short of a miracle. But when they beheld a horse and a cow their admiration knew no bounds.

The development of the mission after these new arrivals became very rapid, for with all their bad habits and excitable temperaments the Kanacs opposed comparatively very few obstacles to the progress of Divine grace. The question of plurality of wives, which it was anticipated would prove one of extreme difficulty, was speedily settled, the catechumens readily consenting to put away those whose union was not sanctioned by the Christian law. A much greater obstacle was the spirit of disunion and the feuds and dissensions which prevailed amongst them. In former times they had lived under the rule of a single monarch, but the last in possession of supreme power had been carried off by pirates and had died in Peru. Thenceforth they had been ruled only by local chieftains, men who like Torometi had raised themselves to power by their audacity and the terrorism which they exercised over their countrymen. To enrich themselves at the expense of their subjects and to wreak revenge on their personal enemies seemed their sole object in life, until at length their evil deeds becoming insupportable, they were put aside to make room for others as unscrupulous as themselves. Hence arose intestine wars, the burning of cabins, the plundering of plantations, &c., followed frequently by periods of famine and the outbreak of contagious diseases. These evils, which were prevalent at the time of Brother Eugene's first visit, became intensified after his departure, and had considerably reduced the population, which now numbered only nine hundred souls, though a few years previously it had amounted to more than twice that figure. To provide a remedy for this crying evil Father Roussel made use of the influence which he had acquired among the natives to induce them in a great assembly held at the mission to bury in oblivion all past

offences, and to promise to live in peace and union for the time to come. To preserve them in these dispositions, he appointed with their consent local chiefs and judges to preside over the different districts. The principal portion of the natives, however, preferred to come and settle about the residence of the missionaries, a step which greatly facilitated the training of the children and the instruction of the adults. It was not long before an additional attraction was afforded by the erection of a church, and schools both for boys and girls, these religious establishments forming a nucleus round which, as we read of the monastic establishments of the middle ages, has sprung up the little town of Hagaroa, the present seaport and centre of commerce for the island.

Another important result of the assembly convened by the missionaries was the formal adhesion of all the inhabitants to the Christian religion. The infants were at once presented for Baptism, and the elder children placed under the care and training of the missionaries, while the parents themselves flocked with eagerness to the prayers and public instructions which were daily given. Their natural candour and simplicity of character, joined to their freedom from preconceived notions on the subject of religion, rendered the work of conversion comparatively easy. Pagans indeed they were, but their paganism was more negative than positive. There were no engrained prejudices to be eradicated, hardly any superstitions to be combated, and above all, no heretical teachers or fanatical sorcerers to impede the work of God. The field was open, the soil fertile, and the heavenly dew of Divine grace drawn down by the sacrifices of the missionaries and the numerous prayers offered for the success of their work, caused the good seed to spring up rapidly in the hearts of the natives and produce an abundant harvest.

But the time had now arrived when the first labourer in the vineyard of Easter Island was to be summoned by his Divine Master to receive the reward of his devoted zeal and untiring labours. The seeds of consumption had long been sown in his constitution, the natural result of the hardships which he had undergone on the occasion of his first visit. His physical labours after his return, namely, in building, cultivating the soil, &c., exhausted his remaining strength. During the three last days of his life his sufferings were most acute, as if Divine Providence designed to complete his purification on earth that



he might enter at once into the reward of his labours. On the day before his death he raised his feeble voice, and, like St. Gregory Thaumaturgus of old, said to those about him: "How many infidels are there still remaining on the island?" "Not a single one," replied Father Zumbohl, who was watching by his side. At these words the countenance of the dying man was lit up with a ray of joyful thanksgiving which seemed to give new life to his expiring frame. It was but four years and a half ago since he had come to Easter Island and found it pagan; he now left it altogether Christian. Gladly might he now sing his *Nunc dimittis*, and await with confidence the coming of that good Master whom he had served so faithfully and so well. "Lord, Thou didst entrust five talents to me. Behold I have gained other five over and above."

Gradually as their preparation was completed, were the catechumens gathered into the fold by their zealous pastors, the chief festivals of the year being marked by the solemn celebration of Baptism or the admission of the neophytes to the Banquet of the Blessed Eucharist, until at length the whole of the population had accepted the sweet and gentle yoke of Jesus Christ. In the meantime a striking transformation in their moral character gave abundant evidence of the sincerity of their conversion. No longer could they with any reason be called a nation of thieves; in fact, the vice of dishonesty became almost unknown among them. A striking proof of their change in this respect was afforded in the early days of their conversion, when one day there arrived from the further extremity of the island a party of Kanacs bringing with them various articles which the previous year they had stolen from Brother Eugene. They had walked a distance of twelve miles under a burning sun, carrying on their backs a number of wooden boards, and bearing suspended round their necks some other articles which they were desirous of returning to the rightful owner. Henceforth, too, in place of their former quarrels and dissensions, peace and brotherly love reigned among them, whilst to mark their gratitude to their spiritual Fathers, they brought every Saturday out of their scanty stores an offering of fowls and potatoes for the support of the missionaries.

The conversion of Easter Island was now an accomplished fact. A second oratory had been erected to supply the wants of the more distant inhabitants; orphanages and schools had been provided for the youth of both sexes, peace and harmony

had been established on a solid basis, and the natives whose dispositions left little to be desired, were gradually assuming habits of industry and the manners and customs of civilized life, when suddenly a storm arose from an unexpected quarter which brought devastation and ruin upon the rising mission. This lamentable catastrophe was the result of the greed and ambition of M. Bornier, captain of the *Tampico*, the very man who had previously rendered so striking a testimony to the successful labours of the missionaries.

The history of these events is so painful that we shall pass them over as lightly as possible, simply recording the principal facts of the case, that the reader may understand the causes which led to the temporary abandonment of a mission so full of consolation and future promise as that whose foundation we have been relating.

During his visit to Easter Island in 1866, M. Bornier had taken note of the fertility of the soil, the salubrity of the climate, and the gentle and pliable dispositions of the inhabitants. Deeming it a favourable opportunity of enriching himself at little cost, he several times revisited the island, making on each occasion large purchases of land until he had acquired a considerable interest in the soil. It is needless to add that the considerations upon which the simple natives were induced to cede their rights of ownership, was in most cases utterly inadequate to the value of the purchase. Anxious to impart to his contracts a semblance of legality, M. Bornier strove to obtain their formal recognition by the missionaries. The latter, however, were too conscientious to allow themselves to become parties to so doubtful a transaction, and frequently raised their voice on behalf of the injured natives. By so doing they incurred the bitter enmity of the French adventurer, who took every opportunity of undermining their influence, thwarting their proposals, and interfering with the peaceful and beneficent work of the mission. Having erected a dwelling and settled upon his estate, he gathered about him all the unruly spirits of the island, and having armed them with guns and swords, allowed them to plunder and tyrannize over the peaceful inhabitants of Hagaroa. The excesses of this band of miscreants, encouraged as they were by the connivance and protection of their patron, soon knew no bounds. The burning of cabins and even of villages, the plundering of plantations, the kidnapping of some of the young *protégées* of the mission,

were events of frequent occurrence, and the passions of the evilly disposed were excited to such a pitch that the Christian cemetery was profaned, and a musket-shot aimed at Father Roussel, who fortunately escaped without injury.

In the meantime the author of all this mischief had taken a step which, while it served to enrich himself, tended to the speedy depopulation of the island. This was the inauguration of a system of emigration by which the inhabitants were persuaded to undertake a term of service, for which both by habit and constitution they were totally unfitted, in the sugar and cotton plantations of Tahiti. Allured by specious promises, and a foolish desire of seeing the world, which is a common weakness of the Kanacs, no less than three hundred of the simple natives were induced to enter into contracts of this nature, for each of whom a certain commission was paid to M. Bornier by the planters. Among these unhappy and misguided men was the restless chieftain Torometi, who with about a third of his companions, soon fell a victim to disease brought on by the sudden change of climate and the severe labour of the plantations. In their last moments these poor exiles had the happiness of receiving the consolations of religion from the missionaries of the Sacred Hearts stationed in the Island of Tahiti.

These deplorable events brought matters to a crisis, and in order to save the remnants of a flock it was determined by the Vicar-Apostolic of Tahiti that the missionaries should withdraw for a time from Easter Island, taking with them all who were willing to accompany them, and that they should repair to the Isle of Gambier, which offered every facility both as regards temporal support and the peaceful practice of religion. The greater portion of the remaining population readily accepted the proposal, and bade adieu to the land of their birth, leaving behind them less than two hundred of their countrymen, who for many years were dependent for the succours of religion on the occasional visits of priests sent by the Vicar-Apostolic of Tahiti to keep alive in their hearts the spark of Divine faith.

But Divine Providence had brighter days in store for this afflicted mission, and strange to say, the instrument whom God chose to build up the ruins of the sanctuary was the same generous priest who, a quarter of a century previously, had offered to forego his journey to Europe, along with the hope of there regaining health and strength, and to devote himself

thenceforth to the conversion of the infidels of Easter Island. Owing to circumstances already related, he had been prevented from carrying out his original intention, and meanwhile he had laboured with the zeal of an apostle in the Island of Tahiti and other parts of the vicariate. Though Father Albert Moniton had now grown old in the service of the Church, his zeal and energy were not relaxed, and it was with extreme joy that he received instructions from the Bishop at the commencement of 1888 to give a mission to the abandoned natives of Easter Island.

Upon his arrival in the island, Father Albert found the two churches, formerly erected, with the presbytery and schools, in a deplorable state of dilapidation, but what was far more afflicting was that the natives had for the most part reverted to paganism. They rallied, however, on hearing the voice of their shepherd, and flocked in crowds to the little church of Hagaroa, which was temporarily repaired for the work of the mission. During the time that it lasted, the confessional was eagerly frequented, and a few of those who had remained faithful to the practice of their religion were admitted to the Holy Table, the remainder being reserved for a more complete course of instruction.

This happy commencement was followed up a few months later by a second and prolonged visit from Father Albert, who had the consolation of finding that the Sunday prayer-meetings which he had previously organized had been well attended during his absence. He now set about repairing and decorating the little church, to render it less unworthy of the Sacramental Presence of our Divine Lord. This great treasure of the Church of God the simple faith and sincere good-will of the Kanacs taught them thoroughly to appreciate. Every morning before sunrise they met in church for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which was followed by a lesson in the catechism. At two o'clock the school children, accompanied by a great number of the grown-up people, assembled for the recitation of the Rosary. The evening was closed with public prayer, varied on Fridays by the Stations of the Cross, followed by Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament. It is incredible with what ardour the good Kanacs assisted at these pious exercises. On Sundays they hardly quitted the church, and many of them seemed to find their whole happiness in receiving our Blessed Lord in Holy Communion or kneeling before Him present in the

tabernacle. A young girl of twelve or thirteen gave special edification to Father Albert by her pure and artless piety. She was always longing for the Blessed Eucharist. On one occasion, when admitting her to Holy Communion on the first Friday of the month, he told her that she might come again upon the Sunday week. But on the following Sunday, two days later, he saw her long before Mass began, kneeling in silent prayer before the tabernacle. When Holy Communion was given she also presented herself at the altar-rails to receive. "My child," said the priest, in a low voice, "it was this day week that you were to come." "Oh, Father," she replied, gazing on the consecrated Host with the look of an angel, "I am longing for It." The good priest could not resist the ardent desires of this child of grace, and with great emotion gave her Divine Spouse into her embraces.

While occupying himself principally with the souls of his neophytes, Father Albert did not neglect their material interests. He had brought with him the seeds and plants of various trees and shrubs, and before his departure he had the pleasure of seeing a number of eucalyptus, fir, fig, and nut-trees growing perceptibly. In the neighbourhood of the mission he discovered two or three groups of acacia-trees, which owed their existence to the labours of the previous missionaries. These he had taken up and planted in rows about the church and cemetery, and also at each side of the adjacent roads. Perceiving that the children were in the habit of coming fasting to school, and often did not taste food till after mid-day, he allotted to each a small plot of ground in which they might plant potatoes and other vegetables, thereby training them in habits of regular industry and providing them with an abundance of the staple food of the country. In these and similar occupations the six months which had been fixed as the term of his visit passed rapidly away, and the ship became at length visible on the horizon which was to convey him to his headquarters at Tahiti.

The same vessel had on board Mgr. Verdier, who had come to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to the neophytes of Easter Island. The venerable prelate was received with every token of rejoicing, and had the consolation of confirming no less than one hundred and fifty souls. This number comprised nearly the entire native population of the island, which had become the resort of settlers and adventurers from various nations. The sad moment of parting and separation

was now at hand. As Eliseus of old followed Elias everywhere before he was taken up to Heaven, so did the poor islanders lie in wait continually for Father Albert, and seemed determined not to allow him to pass out of their sight. Whenever he spoke to them their eyes filled with tears, and they were continually expressing to him their grief and anguish at being so soon to lose him. Meanwhile, they were more assiduous than ever in their religious exercises, and multiplied and prolonged their visits to the Blessed Sacrament, knowing that they were so soon to be deprived of the Sacramental Presence of our Blessed Lord. At length the last farewells were made amid sobs and tears, and the Bishop, standing erect in the canoe which bore them to the ship, pronounced a parting benediction over the kneeling multitude.

And this indeed was really to be a final parting, for in view of the heavy expense and serious inconveniences entailed by the enormous distance of five thousand miles which separated the Vicar-Apostolic of Tahiti from this outlying fortress of his flock, the Sovereign Pontiff has by a recent Rescript detached the mission of Easter Island from the above-mentioned vicariate, and united it to the archdiocese of Santiago, in the Republic of Chili. The latter country has, moreover, assumed the protectorate of the island, so that there is every hope that, though the country will no longer be evangelized by the zealous missionaries of the Sacred Hearts, who were its first apostles, a permanent staff of Chilian clergy will henceforth be attached to the mission, and provide abundantly for the spiritual wants of the daily increasing population.

HENRY GIBSON.



### *An Old Church Account-Book.*

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THE history-books which we read in our school-days, tell us sadly too little of the lives of the people. The successions of kings, battles, and sieges, rebellions, and court scandals we have in plenty, but we hear next to nothing of how the good, homely, quiet people journeyed from day to day, on the dusty road which leads from the cradle to the grave. The antiquaries have endeavoured to supply this deficiency, and have accumulated a vast mass of material for the purpose. For the days and nights of toil which all this represents we cannot be too grateful, but the antiquary is commonly a dull fellow who has not acquired the art of communicating what he knows, so as to make it of interest to his fellow-creatures. This is much to be deplored, for notwithstanding all their faults, and they had many and great ones, it is certain that the more we know of our forefathers the warmer will be our regard for them.

For the Catholic the social and domestic history of the past ought to have an especial charm. We now live among surroundings which are antagonistic to faith. We have preserved the essentials of our holy religion, and now once more some of its splendour is returning, but we can never be in the position of our ancestors, ere the blight of the Reformation came upon them, when almost every act of their lives was intimately associated with the Church and her services.

We are led to make these remarks from having perused an old churchwarden's account-book belonging to the parish of Stratton, a little market-town in Cornwall. Stratton can never have been a place of much note. In old days it belonged to the Norman house of Blanchminster, the cross-legged effigy of one of the members of that family yet remains in the church. The one fact which makes Stratton noteworthy and which has given it a place in history is that one day in May, 1643, an important battle was fought here, between the forces of the Parliament commanded by the Earl of Stamford, and those of



the King under Sir Ralph Hopton. The Cavaliers were victorious, and their success for a time stimulated the hopes of the Royalist party throughout the whole of England.

It is because Stratton has been, speaking relatively, all along such an unimportant place, that we think this old account-book, which chance has preserved for us, so peculiarly interesting. Had it related to one of our great mediæval cities, it would not have given so accurate a picture of the life of the people.

The churchwarden of mediæval England was an important officer. He existed in every parish. Occasionally there was only one, but in most places the duties of the office were discharged by two persons, who were usually elected by the parish on Easter Sunday, after Mass. If we were to endeavour to describe in detail all the functions which churchwardens had to discharge, we should fill a volume. The office was secular, but they were guardians of all the church's temporal concerns in the parish, custodians of the fabric, and treasurers of the offerings made by the faithful. If a church-rate was required it was their duty to lay and to collect it, but grave doubts are entertained as to whether compulsory church-rates were ever levied while England remained Catholic. These were only a part of the churchwarden's duties, in some cases by no means the heaviest part. There were then no overseers of the poor, or surveyors of the highways. These functionaries are the creations of Protestant Parliaments, but the work these officials now perform was not left undone. It was the duty of the churchwarden to see that the poor did not grievously suffer, and that the roads were safe. To the Catholic of the middle ages the building of bridges and the repair of the highways seemed acts of charity. Every one conversant with old wills knows that bequests for these purposes were very common.

The Stratton account-books, or to be quite accurate, those which we have seen, begin in 1512 and end in 1577. There seem to have been two sets of churchwardens in the parish, for there are two volumes of accounts; one containing the receipts and payments of the churchwardens of St. Andrew of Stratton, the other those of "The hye crosse wardenys of Stratton." Without further information than we possess it is not possible to separate the duties of these two sets of officials.

It will be seen that the sixty-six years covered by these old records are in many ways the most eventful in English history. In the beginning all was placidly Catholic, no one dreamed of

change, then clouds begin to gather and the storm burst. *Vox Domini confringentis cedros.*<sup>1</sup> First schism, then heresy, more and more pronounced. Then for a short time a return to unity and faith, and then the final lapse. 1577 is the twentieth of Elizabeth, when the State religion, much as we have it now, had become firmly established. To those who can interpret these memoranda, the progress of events may be traced as it were from day to day. It is, however, far pleasanter for the writer, as we think it will be for his readers, to turn to the earlier pages. The first thing that must strike every one who examines these old accounts is the very varied means by which money was raised for the wants of the church and its services, and how generously the people seem to have contributed. A good part of the church's income arose from payments made for having names inscribed on the bede-roll. A bede-roll seems to have existed in every parish church, it was a list of those living and dead for whom the prayers of the faithful were desired. We have evidence that these bede-rolls were in use long before the Norman Conquest, and we find them almost everywhere until England ceased to be Catholic. Entries such as "Rec. of Johanna Paynter for iij. namys which be set upon the bedroll xs." are of frequent occurrence. It is evident that these were in some cases the names of living people, in others those of the dead. This roll must have been a very long document. There is of course no means of knowing at what date it began, but names were being constantly added. It seems impossible that a long document of this sort could have been read out to the people daily or even weekly. Further information on the subject is much to be desired. It is probable that the roll was only read on certain special occasions, of which we may be sure All Souls would be one. The roll, or a copy of it, was suspended near the great crucifix, so that all who went for private prayer, might have the names before their eyes. Entries such as the following are conclusive on this matter: "Rec. for Symon Pole to be set a pone the hyc crosstor iij. s. iiij. d." We do not call to mind having encountered the word "crosstor" elsewhere, but its meaning is evident. It must mean the great crucifix which stood on the rood-loft occupying the lower portion of the chancel arch. Many old rood-lofts have come down to our time, but not a single crucifix has been spared. They were all destroyed early in the reign of Elizabeth.

<sup>1</sup> Psalm xxviii. 5.

Another source of income arose from the fees paid for burial within the walls of the church. In early Christian times, none but martyrs were buried within sacred buildings, but this rule soon became obsolete. Local Councils from time to time passed canons condemning the practice,<sup>1</sup> but the desire that the body should await the resurrection in the immediate presence of the Holy Sacrifice was too strong to be overcome. In the latter middle ages, in this country, the parish churches had become crowded with graves.<sup>2</sup> At Stratton, as elsewhere, burial in the churchyard was free, but it was the custom of the churchwardens to charge 3s. 4d. for a grave in the church. A similar practice prevailed in many other parts of the country. We have met with it as far north as Lancashire and in many of the intervening counties.

A third source of revenue was derived from the bells. Fourpence was paid whenever a knell was rung for the dead. Modern writers have often confounded the death-knell or soul-bell with the passing-bell. Our Catholic forefathers could never have made such a mistake. The passing-bell, as its name indicates, was rung whenever any one was *in articulo mortis*. It is said to have been a rite peculiar to this country,<sup>3</sup> but we cannot bring ourselves to believe that so holy a custom was unknown to our continental neighbours. Here it was certainly in use as early as 680, in which year Venerable Beda speaks of the bell at Hackness, which was wont to be rung whenever any one of the nuns was dying.<sup>4</sup> For the passing-bell it does not seem that any payment was ever made. It was the natural right of every Christian soul, and so dear was it to the people that, though some of the men of the new religions jeered at it, passing-bells continued to be rung after the country had ceased to be Catholic, and were expressly ordered in the Canons of 1603.<sup>5</sup> Robert Nelson, a Protestant writer of the beginning of the last century, speaking of one at the point of death, says "if his sense hold out so long, he can hear his passing-bell."<sup>6</sup> The knell, or "knyll" as it is commonly spelt here, was rung

<sup>1</sup> "Prohibendum etiam . . . ut in ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in atrio, aut in porticu, aut in exedra ecclesie." (*Conc. Nannetense*, can. vi. in Du Fresne's *Gloss.* Edit. 1844, iii. 144.)

<sup>2</sup> In Chartres Cathedral there have not been any burials. B. Winkle's *French Cathedrals*, 86, quoting Rouillard, *Hist. de Eccl. de Chartres*, i. 162, and Doyen, *Hist. de Chartres*, ii. 73.

<sup>3</sup> North, *English Bells and Bell Lore*, p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 23.

<sup>5</sup> No. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in North, p. 121.

after death, to remind the neighbours to pray for the soul that had passed away, not for one that was passing. This rite was extremely hateful to the Reformers, and measures were taken to put it down. For a long time they were but partially successful. As late as 1713 among the clerk's fees of Barrow-upon-Humber it was arranged for him to have "for every passing-bell fourpence and for every soul-bell fourpence."<sup>1</sup> At Stratton, and probably in most other places, a different bell was used for each of these purposes, so that by the sound every one might know for what purpose his prayers were asked. The passing-bell too was rung at any hour of night or day, as the exigencies of the case demanded. The knells were probably only rung on certain fixed days and at well-known hours.

Money was also given for the use of funeral vestments and other ornaments. There are several entries much the same as the following, "Receivid of Thomas Hayward & Richard Lobbys for the black sute xij*d*." It seems not unlikely that this "black sute," which evidently was the property of the church, was used as of right at the funeral Mass and Masses for the dead of any parishioner, but that when it was wanted to be used for outsiders, a fee had to be paid. Another interpretation has been suggested; that is, that besides the common black suit there was another of richer texture which was only used for those whose relatives were willing to pay for it. There are many minute facts to be gathered from these old papers regarding the vestments, among others it may be well to note that Stratton Church possessed a blue suit; that it was not a new introduction seems to be proved by the fact that in 1515 a small sum was paid for mending it. The lights of the church are not so often mentioned here as in some other documents of the same kind. The wardens were constantly making purchases of wax. This they made into candles for the altars themselves.

A very large part of the receipts of the wardens were derived from the church ales. Sometimes these brought into their exchequer as much as three pounds at a time. These church ale-feasts have been traced by more than one enthusiastic antiquary to the drinking-bouts of heathen Angles, Saxons, and Northmen. There may have been in the remote past some connection between the two, but no such filial relationship has been proved. It is, however, noteworthy that St

<sup>1</sup> North, p. 121.

Gregory the Great in his well-known letter to the Abbot Mellitus, though he does not mention ale—a beverage which he had probably never heard of—refers to feasting in a way not to be mistaken. After saying that the temples of the false gods are to be purified and turned into churches, he continues, that as these newly-converted folk had been accustomed to kill oxen for sacrifice to their vain deities, so the day of the dedication of a church must be kept as a public solemnity, that the people may build themselves booths with branches of trees around the church and pass their time in religious feasting.<sup>1</sup> The whole passage shows, that with the wisdom which the Church has ever shown when dealing with the ignorant, as little change as possible was to be made in manners, so that only the people were devout Christians. It is by no means unlikely that the ale-feasts of latter days grew out of these dedication festivals. Judging the past by the present one would have imagined that the mediæval ales would have led to great abuses. It seems, however, not to have been the case. There were stern moralists among us in those days, but we cannot call to mind a single instance of their being condemned by the local authorities. The Church's marvellous power of plucking up the evil while she permits the harmless to remain, as a solace to her children, seems to have been exemplified in this case. It was not until the old religion had passed away, as far as human legislation could bring about such a catastrophe, that we find the church ale degenerating into a drunken debauch. The rigid Calvinist, Philip Stubbs, knew these festivals only in their decline. He is not, on some matters, a very trustworthy authority, as the ruling thought of his mind, like that of Shelley's hero, seems to have been

That happiness is wrong.<sup>2</sup>

He may nevertheless be accepted as a trustworthy witness as to what he must often have seen. He gives a disgusting picture of the Elizabethan ale-feast.<sup>3</sup> These ale-feasts were held in a building known as the church-house. There was one of these buildings at Stratton. It is often mentioned in the accounts. They were once very common, probably indeed existed in almost every parish throughout the land, but have now almost entirely passed away. As we have now no undoubted existing

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* bk. i. ch. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> *Peter Bell*, part vi.      <sup>3</sup> *Anatomie of Abuses*. Edit. Turnbull, 1836, p. 73.

examples to guide us in describing this building, we are driven to make out our picture from the papers before us and kindred documents which have been preserved in other places. The church-house stood near the churchyard. At Bottesford in Lincolnshire it stood actually within the sacred enclosure. It does not appear ever to have been used as a dwelling-house. In some cases it must have been a building of no inconsiderable size. At Stratton the churchwardens brewed their beer therein, and here the ale-feast was held, and, as we imagine, the church wax melted and formed into candles. Though the churchwardens used this building for the ale-feasts, they were by no means prepared to permit private drinking to go on therein, for in 1541 we find two men fined for drinking a can of ale in the church-house. The chief object for which the Stratton church-house was built was no doubt that of festivity, but the wardens were men of business, who were prepared to turn an honest penny for the church when it came in their way. At fair times the church-house was let to travelling merchants who exposed their wares therein. On other occasions we find gipsies making it a temporary shelter. "Received of the Egyppcions for the church-house xxd," is an entry of the year 1522. Some years later we come upon this highly curious entry: "Received of Jewes for the church-house, ijs. vjd." The word "Jewes" has never been erased, but "Jeptions" has been written above it in another, but contemporary hand. Are we to believe that these Stratton churchwardens really at first believed these poor wanderers to be Jews? It is very strange when we call to mind that one of the modern theories by which the origin of these nomads has been accounted for, is that they are descendants of German Jews who, to escape persecution, took to a wandering life.

Attached to the church was a guild of young women called "Our Ladies Maidens." These girls contributed something to the church stock year by year. There are also several memoranda of payments made to the wardens by Robin Hood and his men. In 1538 they contributed the large sum of £3 os. 10d. Were these people also a guild, or were they a band of rustic players? It is worth noting in connection with them that in 1566, at St. Helen's, Abington, Berkshire, a payment was made "for setting up Robin Hood's bower."<sup>1</sup> The latest mention we find of Robin Hood and his men at

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, i. 16.



Stratton is in 1543, when two women paid 3s. 5*d.* for the wood of which Robin Hood's house had been made. We have here a curious example of how the new opinions waged war not only on those things which were of infinite concern, but also on the innocent and simple pleasures which added brightness to life.

We shall not endeavour to trace step by step the religious changes to which these old account-books bear testimony. A few notes may, however, be added. In 1534 everything was going on on the old lines. The churchwardens bought a manual and a book for processions. Two new stoles were also made and 1*j**d.* was paid for blessing them. In 1547 the image of St. George was taken down. The next year the Rood was removed. In 1549 mention is made of the new communion book. In 1551 the Lent cloth, the Easter sepulchre cloth, the Rood cloth, and the altar-stones, were sold, and the holy pictures on the church walls were hidden by a coat of lime-wash. On the accession of Mary the Catholic we find many things purchased which show that the old rites were being restored. The Protestant Communion was administered in 1561. Three shillings is charged for the bread and wine for Easter. The Rood-loft survived till 1564, when there occurs a small charge for removing it. The ornaments which had been in use during the reign of the Catholic Queen were not disposed of till 1571. Two years afterwards a prayer-book was bought, and then the triumph of heresy was complete.

EDWARD PEACOCK.



## *A Mixed Marriage.*

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### THE FIRST PHASE.

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#### CHAPTER V.

##### A FRUITLESS ERRAND.

IT was not long before Mr. Melnotte thought he had discovered the reason of his sister's preference for the neighbourhood of Alne Court to his own, and his moral indignation was thoroughly aroused.

His daughter, Katie, had been present when some such gossiping talk as that recorded in the first chapter of this story was being carried on, and in which the names of Lord Alne and Margaret were coupled together. Full of anxiety, she retailed the conversation to her father as soon as he returned from the bank in the early afternoon.

It was not Mr. Melnotte's way to let the grass grow under his feet, so he put on his hat and started off at once to speak to his sister. The distance was nearer three miles than two, and the afternoon was as hot as only an August afternoon can be, but he did not mind. He was much perturbed by what he had heard, and was resolved that, never mind what happened, he should not have himself to blame for any laziness or dilatoriness in the matter.

So he toiled up the long dusty hill near the top of which Blackberry Cottage was situated, and arrived there very hot and tired.

"Phew!" said he, mopping and fanning himself as he entered the little drawing-room, "whatever possessed you to come and live in this outlandish place is more than I can conceive! There, there, for pity's sake don't kiss me, I'm much too hot!" and, so saying, he threw himself into a chair with a force which threatened destruction to its springs.

"But there," he continued, "I did not come all the way

here to talk about the heat. Run away, Margaret, somewhere, anywhere. I want to talk to your mother as soon as I am cool enough. Phew, how hot it is!"

"How is Dorothy to-day?" asked Mrs. Bligh, inquiring after her invalid sister-in-law. She guessed perfectly well on what errand her brother had come, and wished to stave off the threatened explanation.

"Much as usual, poor soul!" he replied; "she is just over one of her bad bouts."

"And Katie?" went on Mrs. Bligh, "how is she?"

"Oh, Katie is very well, and so is the cook, and so is the boy, and so is the cat! I did not come here to give you a family bulletin; I came to talk to you about some nonsense I have heard about Lord Alne being after Margaret. I do not pay any attention to gossip as a rule, but this is about a subject so near to us that I scarcely felt as if I ought quite to snap my fingers at it. Have you heard anything of it?"

"Oh, yes," replied Mrs. Bligh, hesitatingly, for, seeing the tone he assumed, she dreaded an explanation more than ever. "He was, in fact, very attentive to her all the time in London."

"But Margaret? She has not encouraged him, has she?"

"No—I mean yes—I am afraid—I mean I think that she likes him very much."

"But, my dear Cecilia," cried Mr. Melnotte, starting vehemently to his feet, "you don't mean to tell me that you are going to allow her to marry a man who is a Protestant!"

"Well, Richard, I feel as if I had so little to say to it, to do with it. It has all been taken out of my hands."

"But you are not a fool! You are not blind! You saw what was happening! Could you not have put your foot down, and called the girl to her senses, and told her you would not have it?"

"I should scarcely have felt justified in taking her life into my own hands in that way."

"What, Cecilia, if you had seen her falling in love with a lunatic, or a felon, or a married man, do you mean to tell me that you would not have stopped it?"

"Of course I should, Richard, of course!"

"Then why," persisted Mr. Melnotte, "could you not speak up now? What do you think Almighty God gave the girl a mother for, if it was not to keep her from doing a thing she will repent of to the very last day of her life?"

"You always were strong on the subject of the responsibilities of parents, Richard," said Mrs. Bligh, with a feeble smile.

"Of course I am, as every right-minded parent ought to be. But tell me, Cecilia," he continued, speaking more quietly, "what is the exact state of affairs? In so many words, does the man mean to ask her to marry him, and does she mean to say 'Yes' if he asks her?"

"I don't know—indeed I don't," she replied, truthfully; "yes, I do think he means to ask her to marry him. I think it, and Mrs. Burnaby thinks it. If it were not for some reticence in her, I think he would have spoken before this. But whether she will accept him I do not know, and I am afraid to ask."

It was a fact; Mrs. Bligh was afraid to ask, for fear her hopes should be dashed to the ground. Once her scruples against the marriage had been overcome, her desire for it grew in intensity. As day after day she looked out of her bed-room window and gazed at the fair acres of Alne Court, she got to feel that this thing that she desired *must* be given to her or she would die. And if Margaret had answered her question by telling her that she would not have this man for a husband, the poor woman felt that she would be unable to endure the disappointment. It was for her child, not for herself, that she desired this position, this wealth, so perhaps there was something in her worldliness which was not all base.

"Perhaps the girl is not such an idiot as her mother," grumbled the banker, half audibly. "Anyhow," he continued aloud, "tell me, Cecilia, how it all came about."

"It is difficult to trace the beginning or all the course of it. From the day I accepted Mrs. Burnaby's invitation, and Margaret made Lord Alne's acquaintance, all power of directing my child's life seemed to have left me. I saw the intimacy growing, but felt powerless to check it or to wish to check it. The direction of things seemed to be in other hands than mine. I quite saw the hand of God in it all."

"For pity's sake don't bring Almighty God into this wretched business," interrupted her brother. "It is just because I feel that Almighty God has nothing to do with it that I hate it. If you said that you saw the hand of Mrs. Burnaby in it you would be nearer the truth."

"No, indeed," returned Mrs. Bligh, "she had nothing to do with it. She did not even know Lord Alne till she invited him to her house on the strength of our acquaintance with him."

"Well," grumbled Mr. Melnotte, "I was sorry enough when you wrote that you were going to take Margaret to that pestilential London, but I am more than sorry now."

"No, Richard, no; I cannot agree with you. Mrs. Burnaby's offer came to me really—and I will say it—as a gift from Heaven. I had realized that Margaret was grown up, and you cannot think how I had lain awake night after night wondering how I could give her any society. She could not be kept without society all her life. I used to tell myself that all would be ordered for the best, and that if society would be for her good the means of having it would come. And it did come. So that is why I say that I have always seen God's hand in that invitation."

"Humph!" was Mr. Melnotte's reply.

"And," continued his sister, "this prospect of her marriage with a man—a good man, mind you—has been like light let in on the dark future. You know how poor I am, how poor my child must be even after my death. I am not strong, and how could I die happy if she were unprovided for?"

Mrs. Bligh waited vainly for a response, and then rippled on plaintively:

"And coming just when it has come, or rather as I hope it is coming, relieves my mind more than ever. This London season has worn me out. I could not go through another; it would kill me. And yet what could I do if Margaret were still unprovided for next year?"

"Go back to Amleigh, and stay there," was the curt reply.

"Indeed, indeed I could not. How could the child ever marry there?"

"Well, I for one have never thought marriage absolutely necessary for any woman's good or happiness. I do not care two straws if my Katie ever marries or not."

"But, my dear Richard, you need not feel the same anxiety that I do. My poor Margaret will be wretchedly poor when I leave her."

"No poorer than you are now, and than she has been all her life. You have never wanted for anything you could not do without."

"True, Richard; but think what a struggle my life has been. You are well off, and——"

"Yes, I am pretty comfortable," he interrupted; "but if I die soon, poor Dorothy and Katie would have to live very

differently to what they have done. You forget that my income dies with me, and that a man cannot start six boys in life, and marry two girls, and put by a peck of money as well, all at once. But all the same I don't bother my head. If Katie marries the right man, well and good, but I am not going to worry about it and hope that she will marry the wrong one."

"Well, anyhow, Clair and Bessie have married."

"Yes, but neither they nor any one else went a-fishing for husbands. And, as for Theresa, she is the best off of the lot."

"But Margaret has no vocation to be a nun; I could not even look to that for her. No, Richard, any woman who was so happy in married life as I was, *must* look to marriage to make the happiness of her child."

"Yes, poor soul," said Mr. Melnotte, quite gently, "you were happy enough in your married life while it lasted. But tell me, dear—for here is a case in point—would you have been as happy if poor Alfred had not been a Catholic?"

"Very likely not," she replied. "No, I should not. But, still, I was deeply in love with him, and I doubt whether anything would have made me give him up. And if Margaret is attached to Lord Alne, I do not see that she is called on to give him up. Mixed marriages are allowed, and, moreover, he is a good man."

"Is he? I never heard it. What do you call a good man?"

"Well, I mean that I have never heard anything said against him, nor has any one else. From all I do hear, he is likely to make the most excellent husband."

"Well, I know more about him than you do, from having lived here for so many years. I do not suppose you ever have heard of anything against him, for, according to the world's standard, he is absolutely impeccable. He has not cheated at cards, nor on the turf; nor has he run away with his neighbour's wife; nor has his name appeared in a divorce court."

"Oh, Richard, how can you say such things?" remonstrated Mrs. Bligh.

"But," continued the banker, "I do not suppose that he is one shade better than nine-tenths of the young men about. He has been his own master from a boy. He cares nothing for his duties as a landed proprietor. He only comes to Alne Court to shoot or to hunt. If it were not for his mother and

a conscientious agent, the property would be in a disgraceful state. I should think he had spent his thirty years——”

“Twenty-seven last April,” corrected his sister, who was better up in the subject than he was.

“Well, his twenty-seven years in absolute self-indulgence, doing everything that it suited his fancy to do, and doing nothing that it bored him to do. Do you call that a good man?”

“Anyhow, Richard, I feel sure that he has sown all his wild oats now, as the saying is.”

“Let us hope he has; though I dare say that some are of rather recent planting.”

“Well, Richard,” sighed Mrs. Bligh, “I suppose that young men must be young men, and that it is best not to inquire too closely into what they have been.”

“Now, now, now, Cecilia, for Heaven’s sake don’t *you* begin preaching that sort of hateful fallacy, as if Almighty God had created young men only for the purpose of sinning against Him. You know perfectly well what young men can be, so it is no use humbugging, and treating me to a dish of Mrs. Burnaby, served up second-hand. Look at my boys, to go no further. They are fine fellows, doing well in their professions, and liked by everybody; and yet I doubt their having ever done a thing, scarcely thought a thing they would mind telling their mother or sisters.”

“Well, of course poor Lord Alne has not had the helps that your boys have had, but I do feel confident that the fact of his being attached to a sweet, pure girl like Margaret proves that he has now cast behind him whatever may have been bad in his life.”

“I trust so, and yes, Cecilia, I think so.”

“A man could not pass his life with a girl like Margaret without being the better for it,” continued Mrs. Bligh. “My dear Richard, I know you blame me for countenancing the possibility of this marriage, but indeed I could not be as happy about it as I am, nor could I wish for it, unless I felt sure that sooner or later her influence will tell, and that he will be a Catholic.”

“That hope is very generally expressed on these occasions, I believe,” returned Mr. Melnotte, drily; “even in those cases which have turned out most unfortunately. And for you to entertain it in this case shows that you have the virtue of hope

largely developed. He certainly has no religion to boast of *now*. Like most men brought up by very Evangelical parents, he flung it all to the winds as soon as he grew up. I do not say that he has taken up with unbelief; but I should think he did not trouble his head at all about religion, and I doubt his ever saying a prayer."

"Then it will be all the more easy for Margaret to influence him and bring him to her way of thinking," said Mrs. Bligh, confidently.

"Virtue of hope again, my dear Cecilia," replied her brother, laughing. "But now to business. If you and Margaret are set on this marriage, *I* have no right to stop it. But how about the conditions? Does he know anything about them? Have you ever spoken to him about them?"

"How could I, my dear Richard? How could I assume that he was going to ask for my daughter in marriage?"

"Well, there was a difficulty I own. But now, had not I, as a matter of business, without in any way compromising you or Margaret, better call on him and lay them clearly before him?"

"It might be best," said Mrs. Bligh, faintly. She had no wish that Lord Alne should remain ignorant of those conditions on which alone the Catholic Church allows her children to marry those of a different religion to themselves; but her poor heart sank, for she thought it more than possible that, rather than agree to them, he might give up Margaret.

"I warn you, Cecilia," her brother went on, rather brutally, "that if he has not yet considered them, your precious match may come to nothing when he does hear of them. He may not stick at being married in a Catholic church, and with a Catholic ceremony, provided you do not ask him to be married here; but a man in his position is uncommonly likely to jib at letting his children, the heirs to his name and property, be brought up as Catholics. If he consents, I shall think better of him. Anyhow, I will judiciously tackle him. When does he return to Alne Court?"

"To-night, I believe."

"All right; I will tackle him to-morrow; and that will settle matters one way or the other. Good-bye, Cecilia. I have stayed talking a long time, and must be off. It is cooler now."



## CHAPTER VI.

## UNCLE DICK.

MR. MELNOTTE was not a man who could bear a mystery. As this impending marriage of his niece was filling his thoughts to the exclusion of everything else, it was impossible for him to conceal them from those interested. So having had it out with the mother, he felt that he must have it out with the daughter.

He found Margaret sitting with a book under a tree in the little garden.

"Are you too tired or lazy to walk part of the way home with me, Margaret?" he asked.

"I shall like it above all things, Uncle Dick," she replied, starting to her feet. "I want a walk. It is cooler now, and the garden feels stuffy."

"I wish you had not settled down out here in the wilds, child," her uncle began, as they walked down the road together. "I had hoped to have had you and your mother always with me. Katie is terribly disappointed. She has been very much alone since Bessie married, and she had looked forward to having you. This two miles or more dusty walk is, anyhow in summer, a formidable barrier. And you are more than three miles from the church."

"I know, Uncle Dick. I had much rather be nearer the town, nearer you, and nearer the church. I never liked coming here."

"Did you not indeed?" replied Mr. Melnotte, drily. "Now that we are on the subject (they were not at all on the subject, but that did not in the least signify to the good banker), do you mean to marry the man who owns that little place?" And he jerked his chin towards Alne Court, the lodge gates of which they were at that moment passing.

"What do you mean, Uncle Dick?"

"Just what I say, Miss Innocence!"

"How can I marry a man who has not asked me?" she replied.

"Oh, those girls, those girls, what deceiving creatures they are! Well, what I mean in plain English is, if he does ask you, do you mean to have him?"

"I think so, Uncle Dick," she answered in a low voice.

"And you are quite ready to throw over all preconceived notions, and marry a Protestant, eh?"

"I did not like it at first," she said, "but somehow it has grown on me."

"Grown? Yes, grown, thanks to careful cultivation! I suppose," he resumed, for he did not find it so easy to scold his niece as he had found it to scold his sister, "I suppose you think it would be a very fine thing to be Lady Alne, eh? In fact, you have fallen in love with Lord Alne's long purse and broad acres, eh?"

"No, Uncle Dick," she replied, looking at him with her clear, truthful eyes, "I am in love with Lord Alne himself. There! You have *made* me say it; and if he never comes and asks me to be his wife I shall die of shame for having said it."

"So you think he means to ask you?"

"Yes, Uncle Dick."

"What makes you think it, eh?"

"Oh, don't, Uncle Dick! Don't go on catechizing me like that! How can I answer you? I *know* he does. It has been on the tip of his tongue to speak three or four times during the last few weeks in London; but I always managed to turn it off. I felt in such a whirl, and so little myself in London, that I dared not trust myself, and felt that I must come down here and face the whole thing quietly to myself before I made up my mind."

"And facing it quietly has made you mean to say, Yes?"

"It has, Uncle Dick."

"Well, well, child, a wilful man must go his own way, as the saying is. You and your mother are both set on this, and I cannot prevent it. But I don't like it, Margaret, I don't. I should say a great deal more, if I did not see that you mean to do it, and further warnings from me would only make you fight shy of me when you have done it. But one thing I must say. How do you think your fine Lord Alne will relish the idea of accepting the conditions which the Church sees fit to impose on her children who wish to commit suicide in the way of making a mixed marriage? I am going to see him to-morrow and put them all before him."

"Oh, are you, Uncle Dick? I *am* so thankful."

"Are you indeed?" replied he. "If you ask my opinion, I think it will be the means of his backing out altogether."

"But I am thankful, Uncle Dick. You do not know how

this has troubled me. I felt that before he came on one bit more he ought to know all about it; and I did not know how it was to be done. I could not talk to him, of course; and it was difficult for mama to do it. But I *am* obliged to you, dear, good old Uncle Dick."

"Now tell me, child," he said, stopping and facing her. "If he says—well, what shall I say that is polite? If he says he'll be blowed if he promises to let his children be brought up Catholics; what will you do?"

"I'd say that I'd be—well I'd be blowed if I would be his wife," replied Margaret, with a little choke in her voice.

"Honour bright, Margaret?"

"Honour bright, Uncle Dick!"

"Thank God!" ejaculated Uncle Dick.

"You may think of me as you must," she continued, "for I know what you think of mixed marriages, and I believe you would never have got over it if either Clair or Bessie had made one. But I would not begin my married life with a sin like that."

"Thank God, I say again, child. But one thing more. Can you not see that it is possible, nay probable, that even if this Lord Alne loves you too much to refuse any conditions you make to accepting him, he may back out of his promise once he has got you safe?"

"No," said Margaret, indignantly, "I feel quite sure that if Lord Alne does promise a thing, he will keep his promise, never mind what it costs him."

"And why do you feel sure, pray? Lots of men have promised and broken their promises, and very likely their wives' hearts, too. Such promises ought to be made legally binding, and you will see, when a few more vows have been broken and lives shipwrecked, it will come to that."

"But I know it would be all safe in this case," reiterated Margaret. "I know it by instinct, I suppose."

"By the instinct of love you would say, eh, you goose? Well, well, child, God grant that your instinct may be right this time. But, oh, Margaret, I wish you were not such a fool!"

"I am afraid I must resign myself to your thinking me a fool; but oh, Uncle Dick," she continued more earnestly, "please, please, do not think me too wrong."

"My dear child, it is not for me to condemn you, or to say you are wrong to do what the Church allows you to do for your

infirmity. But no, my child, no, I cannot say that you are right. What would have been right would have been to have trodden out the very first sparks of this feeling that was growing in you ; to have cut it off, to have plucked it out and cast it from you before it became to you as your right hand and your right eye. Once the spark became a flame it was too hard for you to quench, and I understand that you take refuge in the thought that the flame may burn without sin. I only pray God that this thing which you have set your poor little foolish heart on may not turn to bitter ashes, to you and to the man who is to be your husband."

"You will pray for me, Uncle Dick," she said, pleadingly, "and do please pray for him too that he may be a Catholic. So many people are converted, you know."

"I will pray, my dear child," he replied ; "but the eye of the needle through which rich men have to enter the Kingdom of Heaven is an uncommonly inconvenient and unpleasant passage, and is avoided by most of them. But there, I don't want to stop your praying ; it is the best thing you can do under the circumstances. Now, good night, child ; you must not come a yard further. Good night."

The banker trudged on by himself down the dusty road, muttering remarks anything but complimentary to his sister, or to Mrs. Burnaby, or to the world at large ; and as he muttered, he somewhat viciously cut the heads off the dusty wayside nettles with his stick. As his thoughts passed on to Margaret, his countenance softened, and it was with a troubled expression that he muttered audibly : "What a fool the child is ! and yet there is plenty of good in her if she had fallen into better hands. Little idiot ! She says she loves this man, and cannot give him up ! But what on earth does she know about him, about his real self ? A few ball-room talks cannot have taught her much about that ! And yet the girl is quite ready to give this man everything—herself, her youth, her love, her service ; while for aught she knows he may be the greatest blackguard unhung. Probably under present circumstances she feels that she would not care if he were ! It beats me altogether how a girl like Margaret, who for eighteen years has known what it is to be a Catholic, can be ready to link herself for life to a man with whom her *real* self can have nothing in common, and can face the probability of having to bring up the children entrusted to her with less help from her husband than if he did

not exist ! But there, I suppose she does not think at all about it, though she ought. This sort of business puts one out of conceit with English so-called love marriages, and quite makes one wish that the French *convenance* arrangements were in vogue here."

Thus he trudged along, muttering and grumbling, till he reached the town, and, for fear of being looked on as a lunatic, had to keep his thoughts to himself.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### FOR BETTER, FOR WORSE.

WHEN Lord Alne had first discovered that Margaret was a Catholic, the discovery was a great shock to him. He had, or at least he thought he had, no personal prejudice against Catholics, though his education from his earliest infancy had tended to foster such a feeling ; but still the idea of marrying one, when it first presented itself to his mind, was utterly repugnant to him. It struck him as too unusual a step, and for some reason inexplicable to himself it struck him almost in the light of a *mésalliance*. For the old penal laws have not quite worked off the effect of their poison yet. Not only do Englishmen refuse to find room for Catholic books in their libraries, but they rarely choose Catholics as their closest friends. They tacitly refuse to be represented in Parliament by them ; so perhaps it was not surprising that Lord Alne, with three centuries of very Protestant tradition behind him, should have shrunk from taking to himself a Catholic wife. Moreover, setting aside his own repugnances, he knew that he could take no step more objectionable to his mother and to every connection he had.

So being, as he thought, but slightly taken by Margaret, he had fled from temptation, intending to go to fish in Norway, and there forget all about her. But he was more hard hit than he had thought, and after struggling for a week or two he had returned to London, because, as he had told her himself, he could not keep away. Catholic or no Catholic, he was now resolved to win her as his wife.

He had loved, or thought he had loved, several women in the course of his life, but from the very outset his feeling for

Margaret was such as he had never had before. And now when it dawned upon him that he might after all fail to win her, his love grew daily in intensity. She was no coquette, but had she been so and acted purposely, no line she could have taken would have fanned his feeling for her so effectually as that which, in her uncertainty, she took of keeping him half aloof.

All his life he had had what he wanted for the asking, and now he saw himself threatened with refusal of that which he desired as he had never desired anything in his life before. His love for Margaret was a good love, and as day by day he felt it growing in intensity, he also felt it to be growing less selfish, and a new power of self-devotion was born in him. Every nobler part of him was called into alertness, and in his love for her he loathed with a perfect hatred all that had been base and unworthy in his past life. There was nothing he would not have done for her and dared for her to prove his love. If some of the impossible tasks of the old fairy legends had been offered to him, he would have undertaken them joyfully; no dragon's jaws, no furnace of fire would have daunted him had they stood between him and his love. Absence from her, forced on him by business in London, gave him courage, and he had come down to Alne Court, upbraiding himself for his pusillanimity, and resolved to be no longer put off by Margaret's evasions, but to force an answer from her; to venture all to win all; for he felt his love to be such that it would take no refusal.

He was in this frame of mind, and had just thrown a last glance at the clock, wondering when the day would be sufficiently advanced for him to go in search of Margaret, when the door was opened and Mr. Melnotte was announced.

It is not necessary to enter into how the good banker broached his business to Lord Alne: suffice it to say that he disguised nothing, but put every detail and every consequence before him most clearly and in all their baldness.

Lord Alne disguised from him how much the intelligence disturbed him; but after he had got rid of his unwelcome visitor he walked up and down the library in a very unenviable and somewhat unpleasant frame of mind.

Here was a new obstacle to be faced, one which his common sense told him was far more formidable than any of those imaginary ones of the dragon or fiery furnace description which

he had pictured to himself. The case stood thus. Either he must sacrifice all the traditions and principles of himself and his family, and despise himself for doing it, or else he must give up all hopes of winning Margaret as his wife; and the thought of that he dared not contemplate. The dilemma was enough to drive a man distracted, and he champed and chafed against it as he walked to and fro first in the house, and then in the garden and park, quite regardless of the scorching August sun.

At last when, tired in body and a little calmer in mind, he returned home, he arrived at some conclusion. He snatched up his hat afresh and wended his way towards Blackberry Cottage. Something must be done. He would not take Mr. Melnotte's words as gospel. The whole dilemma might be chimerical. If it were true that Margaret would not take him except on those hateful conditions, let him learn it from her lips, and from her lips alone.

In answer to his inquiries at Blackberry Cottage he learnt that Mrs. Bligh was lying down upstairs with a bad headache, and that Margaret had gone up the lane with a book not many minutes before.

Along that lane he followed her, and found her sitting reading on the mossy root of an old beach-tree which grew in the park of Alne Court, but stretched its roots into the little lane which skirted it.

She heard his steps and knew of his approach long before he was really near, but with bounding heart she kept her eyes fixed on her book. She knew that he would seek her ere long, but now that he had come she longed to flee. But when after greeting her he asked her to pass through the bridle-gate near which she was sitting into the park beyond, she assented very simply. She knew now that she was ready to go through life with this man, so why should she hesitate to go with him into those woods and glades?

Though his own pulses were racing he was too thoroughly English to make fine speeches when he told her of his love, and it was in very simple words that he asked her to be his wife. And she, though she had thought all day and for several days what she would say, could only stammer out:

"Yes—if—if—I mean, has my uncle spoken to you?"

He steadied his brain and faced her resolutely. The words must be said, though now that he felt assured that, never mind



on what conditions, she was willing to be his wife he cared for no secondary consideration.

"If," said he, "it were impossible for me to accept all those conditions your uncle told me about, would you not be my wife then?"

"No, I could not," she said, bravely, looking at him. And he believed her.

"And if I do, you will?"

"I will," she answered in a low voice.

He did not speak. Now or never he must make his choice. He paced up and down with his brow knitted and his hands clenched. Then he stopped.

"I cannot give you up, Margaret," he said, "clasping her to him. "I give in to all, if only you will be my wife!"

They were married in London, much to the disappointment of the Ulminster folk. All immediately concerned felt instinctively that it might be very unpleasant for Lord Alne that his marriage should be celebrated in the little Catholic chapel in the outskirts of Ulminster, so when Mrs. Burnaby offered her house and purse for the purpose, her offer was gladly accepted. She would have been much disappointed if "her Margaret" had been married from any house but hers, and she took all the arrangements for the *trousseau* so completely into her own hands that poor Mrs. Bligh, who would have very much enjoyed this part of the business, felt that she might as well have remained at home. However, it was Mrs. Burnaby who paid for the very magnificent *trousseau*, so what had Mrs. Bligh to do, but to submit and be grateful?

It was Margaret who suffered most from these *trousseau* arrangements. Her tastes were very simple, though the world, seeing her choice of a husband, would not have given her credit for the same; and the constant persecution from dressmakers, milliners, &c., marred the joys of her engagement. She had no thought except for Lord Alne—for Humphrey, as she learnt to call him—and as for him, his only happiness was to be with her, to take her everywhere, and to be proud of her.

So they were married; so they were joined together so that no man could put them asunder. And Margaret prayed from the bottom of her heart that she might be a good wife, in every sense of the word, to the man whom Almighty God had been so tremendously good as to give her.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE FIRST YEAR.

IT would be very difficult to describe how very happy both Humphrey and Margaret were during that first year of their married life. He, in the common sense of the word, worshipped her, and if a man worships the woman he is wedded to, he will most likely be happy. She too was quite absorbed in her love of him. She loved him, and she loved the life she led as his wife. Her early years had been spent in shedding sunshine all around her and in basking in the sunshine which she made. So it was now in her new life, only the field for her enjoyment seemed so wide that she could not see the end of it.

In a very short time after they had settled down to their life at Alne Court she knew the wife and family of every cottager in South Cray. This village, belonging as it were to Alne Court, for nearly every cottage in it was owned by Lord Alne, lay on the side of the park furthest from Ulminster and its crowd of attendant villas. There was no playing my Lady Bountiful on Margaret's part. She flitted in and out of every house, shedding her sympathy and sweet brightness wherever she went, chatting with the old and weary, or playing with the children, counting their pink toes or smoothing their fair curls with an utter absence of self-consciousness or human respect. She knew the names and occupations of the children and grandchildren in every family, and was ready with kind word and kind deed whenever it was wanted. She could no more help having this sort of intercourse with her poor neighbours than she could help breathing the pure air round her, but it won all hearts to her, and the general verdict was that "she was a sweet young lady, though she was a Roman."

Even the old clergyman of the village at the gates fell a victim to her fascinations. He was a Protestant of the old-fashioned Evangelical type, and had been very stiff and full of forebodings when he heard that a Popish Lady Alne was coming to reign at the Court. But a very few minutes' intercourse with the sunshiny enemy captivated him, much to the scandal of his more conscientious wife, who still held aloof.

It was not in Margaret's nature to lead this sunny life alone. With a childlike impetuosity she insisted on carrying her more reserved husband with her. He who since he grew up had

never lived at Alne Court except to shoot in the autumn or hunt in the winter, who left the management of his farms to his agent and his cottages to his mother, now found himself forced willingly to inspect this cottage and that cottage, to see where it was too shameful that that hole in the roof should be left unmended, letting in wind and rain just over Granny Jones' bed, or that fence to be unrepaired, so that Farmer Hayes' poultry were always trespassing on Thomas White's garden and grubbing up his seeds and flowers. There stood Lord Alne in the midst of curtsying women and children, feeling as shy and uncomfortable as most British landlords do feel in the company of their poorer tenants. But Margaret had her way, roof was mended and fence repaired, never mind how much Mr. Owens, the agent, might grumble at things being, what he called, taken out of his hands and done over his head.

By degrees Lord Alne caught the infection of this interest in other people's affairs, and he began to look after things on his estate as he had never done before. The days were scarcely long enough to get through all the interviews and business entailed thereby. Business grew from business, and there seemed to be no end to the requests for his presence at boards, meetings, and matters of that sort all over the neighbourhood. So, from feeling himself to be a very idle man he now almost grumbled at the amount of his work, especially if it took him away from Margaret.

He was very loyal to her about her religion, and though he felt some natural repugnances to mixing himself up in anything that concerned it, he often conquered himself, for he knew that there was the spot through which, if he chose, he could inflict pain on his wife. So he not only always sent her to Mass on Sundays in the carriage, contrary to the custom of the house in his mother's reign, when no horse or carriage was ever allowed out on a Sunday, but he took to going to the service at the Cathedral instead of his own parish village church, in order that he might drive into the town with her, and take her to the very door of her church. Nor was he ashamed to hang about outside the Catholic chapel if Mass were not over when he was ready, so that he might come home with her.

Of course the world of Ulminster knew everything that he did, and freely commented on it. Some said he was on the high way to Rome, especially as it had been whispered that when Lord and Lady Alne were in London he had been seen

going into a Roman Catholic church. Mrs. Forbes shook her head and said, "Poor Dowager!"

After a little struggle with himself he invited Father Headford, the priest at Ulminster, to dinner, and what is more, asked him to say grace at his table; nor did he stop there.

It was with Father Headford as it is with many another priest in charge of a poor English mission. The mission of Ulminster had been burdened by debt from its very infancy. The much-needed church had to be built, and the money necessary had to be raised somehow, so it was raised at the cost of the debt which had crippled its existence ever since. So this priest, instead of being able to devote all his energies, according to the very nature of his vocation, to the salvation of souls, spent his life and strength in weaving financial calculations, trying vainly to stretch unelastic money so as to meet the constant demands that pressed on him from all quarters, from schoolmistress, tax-collector, or tradesmen.

One Sunday, when Margaret returned from Mass, she repeated to her husband (just because she always did speak to him whatever was in her mind) the sad appeal which the poor, over-worked, over-driven priest had made for a little more help from his congregation to meet the crushing debt on the church and schools.

Without saying a word he sat down, and writing a cheque for twenty pounds, handed it to her.

"You must never be afraid to ask me for help," he said.

Margaret threw her arms round his neck. "Oh, Humphrey," said she, "how I love you! How good you are to me!"

Mrs. Bligh was very happy, and ready to sing her *Nunc dimittis*. Her health had indeed grown very feeble, but she said it was as well that it should be so, as she had nothing more to live for.

Her weak health did not permit her to be much at Alne Court. This was, perhaps, a good thing, as, though always kind and courteous to her, Lord Alne did not love his mother-in-law very much. Many men do not get on well with their mothers-in-law, and dread their interference with their married life. In this case it was no interference on Mrs. Bligh's part which caused the barrier. Far from it; but her thankfulness for her daughter's happiness took the form of an almost obsequious gratitude to him, which he, being very devoted to his

wife, and being a real gentleman, naturally resented. So when she pleaded ill-health as an excuse for declining his invitations to Alne Court he accepted her plea without much regret.

Margaret was, of course, a great deal with her mother, and told her every detail of her life.

"Oh, mama, I am so happy," she said one day, "so very happy. I almost forget everything, except that I am so happy."

"I told you how it would be," said Mrs. Bligh, almost triumphantly to her brother, when she had repeated her child's words to him. "I told you that I was sure this marriage was *meant* to be. And really if he were a Catholic himself he could not be more generous to her than he is about her religion."

"A husband has no right to be generous to his wife about her religion," growled Mr. Melnotte. "He should be one with her in it."

"That we cannot expect, Richard," replied his sister. "But it will come, take my word for it. He really is so good to her about her religion that it *must* bring a blessing on him. He *must* be a Catholic some day. He cannot love and admire his wife as he does, without coming further."

"Virtue of hope," again growled the banker.

"But she is so happy," said Mrs. Bligh, returning to her first point.

"I am very sorry that she is," responded he.

"How can you say such things, Richard," she remonstrated.

"It just shows," resumed her brother, "what a butterfly the girl is that she can be so happy. I am disappointed in her, and that is a fact. I thought there was more stuff in her. But well, well, while there is life there is hope. When sickness and sorrow come, then we shall see the shoe pinch."

"I hope indeed that the shoe never will pinch," said Mrs. Bligh, shuddering.

"More fool you," growled her brother, as he took up his hat and left her.

## Reviews.

### I.—FASTI MARIANI.<sup>1</sup>

FATHER HOLWECK has set himself in the work before us a very difficult task. His idea has been to catalogue in order all the festivals of our Lady celebrated either generally or locally in any part of the world. A reader turning over the pages of the book inattentively, might easily fall into the mistake of supposing that the work was a mere list of shrines and places of pilgrimage where our Lady was honoured under different titles, resembling, for instance, the *Pietas Mariana Britannica* of the late Mr. Edmund Waterton. But this is not the case. Father Holweck's object is to take notice only of the *festivals* of our Lady. It is with the liturgical aspect of the question that he is alone properly concerned. And this is the reason why we describe the task he has set himself as one of extreme difficulty. In a very large proportion of the feasts which he has calendered, the evidence for a true liturgical celebration sanctioned by authority seems to us quite inadequate. No doubt Father Holweck gives us reason to believe that on the day in question some sort of holiday or anniversary was kept in connection with some particular statue or shrine. But the difficulty is to distinguish between the ecclesiastical observance of a feast, with a proper Office and Mass, and the popular celebration of a *fešta*, ushered in perhaps by a votive Mass of our Lady, but with no special feature to mark it off ecclesiastically from hundreds of other village holidays. To draw such a distinction in each case would be possible only for an antiquary possessing great knowledge of local traditions, to which was added an accurate study of every kind of old service-book. It is no discredit to Father Holweck to say that he is unable single-handed to carry out thoroughly a work which

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti Mariani sive Calendarium Festorum Ste. Mariæ Virginis Deiparæ Memoriarum Historicis Illustratum.* Auctore F. G. Holweck (of St. Louis, U.S.A.). Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder, 1892.

would tax the energies of a hundred learned inquirers, each of whom were specialists in the ecclesiastical history of a separate district.

It must not be supposed, however, that we think lightly of this catalogue, even if somewhat loosely compiled. It is true that we do not see why, on the same principles, the list should not be indefinitely extended so as to yield half a dozen more "feasts" of the Blessed Virgin for almost every day of the year. Still the Editor has exercised discretion in the relative space allotted to the different entries; and of the great industry and research here compressed into a small compass, there can be no sort of question. The book may contain more than in our view should legitimately be included in it, but on the other hand, the real festivals of our Lady all receive adequate treatment, and an immense amount of valuable information is to be found in its pages which it would be impossible to meet with in so convenient a form elsewhere. The Indexes are good, and the author is particularly to be commended for the conscientiousness with which he attaches to each statement a reference to the authority from whence it is derived.

Perhaps the least satisfactory feature in the execution of the volume, at least from an English point of view, is the comparatively small pains which the writer seems to have taken with the liturgical celebrations by which our Blessed Lady has been honoured in these islands. No doubt it is true that in the case of the great English shrines such as Walsingham, Evesham, and others it was the custom to observe rather some existing festival of the Blessed Virgin with peculiar solemnity, than to endeavour to establish any new local feast with a proper Office and Mass. When we note the growing complications of the modern *Ordo* we are tempted sometimes to wish that the same conservative tendency was equally manifest in our own day. At the same time it does not seem to us that Father Holweck has made much attempt to utilize existing English materials. Neither Father Bridgett's *Our Lady's Dowry* nor the work of Edmund Waterton already referred to are mentioned in his list of authorities, and English calendars and service-books seem to have been completely ignored. One English feast we may call his attention to because it is not merely of local interest, but is probably to be regarded as the earliest authentic mention of a festival in honour of our Lady's Conception. In a metrical calendar to be found in three different MSS. in the British



Museum, and the original of which from various considerations too long to be set down here, may be assigned probably to the eighth or ninth century at latest, we find for the second day of May the entry

Concipitur Virgo Maria cognomine senis.

The Virgin called Mary is conceived, the sixth (day before the nones).

This metrical calendar also bears witness to the celebration in England of the feast of our Lady, *Ad Martyres*, on the 13th of the same month. The notice runs :

Profulget Maria ternis ex idibus insons.

However, such slight shortcomings as we have pointed out are almost necessarily incident to the treatment of an intricate subject. We have nothing but thanks, therefore, to return to Father Holweck for a useful compilation, the fruit of much learning and great industry.

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## 2.—A CHRISTIAN APOLOGY.<sup>1</sup>

This is the third and last volume of an important work of which the earlier volumes have been previously noticed in THE MONTH. That it should appear so soon after its predecessors speaks highly for the diligence of the translators, who have either done it all themselves, or at least have had the co-operation of very able pens. In the earlier volumes, although there was much to commend, we found some things also to regret, in particular the excessive condensation, to the serious loss often of clearness. It is a duty therefore, and a pleasing one, to add that we hardly notice this defect in the volume before us.

The subject this time is the Catholic Church, the *Demonstratio Catholica* carrying on and completing the *Demonstratio Christiana*. The author with great wisdom deserts the usual sequence of topics, and commences with a chapter on Doctrinal Development. In this manner the way is prepared for a more conclusive handling of the "difficulties" against the various conclusions to be established, for almost all the difficulties drawn from Scripture and history against the doctrines and claims of

<sup>1</sup> *A Christian Apology*. By Paul Schanz, D.D. Translated by Rev. Michael Glancey and Rev. Victor Schobel, D.D. In Three Volumes. Vol. III. : *The Church*. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son.

the Catholic Church and of the Holy See proceed from a false conception of the immutability of revealed doctrine.

This chapter on Development is excellently done. Not only are the principles clearly laid down, but they are also illustrated in their application to one or two primary doctrines, such as the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and Grace. It seems, however, a pity that the author did not carry his illustrations a step further and show us how in the history of such a doctrine as the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception we have no novelty, but a gradually developed comprehension of a truth proved to be a part of the original revelation. Anglican writers are absolutely ignorant of the history of this doctrine, and assume, as though we conceded it, that it was in no sense original. Dr. Schanz does, however, in his chapter on Scripture and Tradition, make a slight reference to this and similar dogmas. The following passage is excellent.

Protestant writers are wont to quote such doctrines as the seven sacraments, indulgences, Purgatory, celibacy, auricular confession, communion under one kind, Papal Infallibility, Immaculate Conception, as doctrines in which the principle of Tradition completely breaks down. With the same right they might quote the definition of Nicea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, as the heretics of the time actually did. But they forget the doctrine of development. They seek formal and explicit testimonies when these are only implicit. This is the radical fault of the so-called historical school as opposed to the dogmatic principle of Tradition. How effective, for instance, in the eyes of those who do not understand Catholic Tradition and Development is the phalanx, when properly marshalled, of mediæval opposition to the Immaculate Conception. Yet to those who know what Tradition and Development are, this appears for the time being but the natural and necessary result of both.

In regard to the dogma of the Church and of the Primacy, these being the subject-matter directly dealt with, the author keeps the principle of Development well in view throughout. In this sense he pursues the historical method, that is to say, keeping the doctrine always well in view, and bidding history tell the stages of its growth till it reaches the full-blown dignity of a dogma. Thus he introduces his investigation of the history of the Papal Primacy in the following passage :

Can it be proved that Rome claimed and exercised Supremacy in the early Church? Before answering this question, it is necessary briefly to recall the argument of the first chapter of this volume. The law of development, it was then stated, applies to the deposit of

revealed truth, to the faith and life, and all the institutions of the Church, and to herself as a whole. Consequently it must also hold good in the matter of the Primacy of the Roman Church. It is not in the natural course of things that the powers latent in the human soul should stand revealed in their fulness at the outset. Mental power, strength of will, and force of character, in a word, all the acts of the reasonable soul, are the outcome of slow and steady growth. And the growth and expansion come from within. In like manner the Church was at first a young, tender, and delicate organism, the author of which was Jesus Christ, who had both formed its body, and breathed into it His own life-giving Spirit. The Church was, therefore, a living being, and, as such, capable of growth and expansion from within. Its Head too was a living Head, and capable of ruling and governing the whole body as time and circumstances might demand. Consequently there was no necessity whatever for Christ to determine minutely by word of mouth every detail of the competency, power, and attributes of the Head of the Church. But if this be so, we cannot expect the proof for Rome's Primacy to stand out with as much clearness in the first as in the tenth century, it would be to disregard all laws of historical development; it would, in fact, be monstrously unreasonable and at variance with every known analogy. . . . The real question at issue can only be: Is the Primacy of the Roman Church a natural development of the Church that was in the time of Christ and the Apostles? Or again, to put the question another way: Are there any traces, however faint, which go to show that Rome claimed some superiority and a leading part in the early Church? To this question there can be but one answer.

Read in this light history discloses a sufficient recognition of the Primacy even from the first. Unquestionably the excessive centralization of our modern system is missing in the first ages. As yet the conditions were not such as to require it, and in its absence there might well be in some minds, perhaps in some measure in all, an imperfect realization that such power was contained in the Privilege of Peter. But from the first we find evident traces that the Roman Bishops were St. Peter's successors, the inheritors of the powers granted to the Apostle in the three great Petrine texts. The course of events and the changing conditions of ecclesiastical life gradually pointed to more and more centralization and to fresh exercises of ecclesiastical power as requisite for the good of the Church, and *pari passu* with the growing need went the growing realization that the desirable power was included in the comprehensive words, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth," &c.

On these lines Dr. Schanz proceeds, and we wish we had

space to add other extracts to those already given and to show more fully how clearly he can guide us through the mazes of his subject.

A share in the merit of this work is due to the translators, who this time have added a good many very useful paragraphs and foot-notes of their own. These in general aim at meeting more directly Anglican attacks on the Church which a German writer would naturally pass over. The translators have also written an excellent Preface on Church authority and its logical position in the order of revealed truths. Another service they have done is to number the paragraphs, so that they can easily be compared with the very full Table of Contents. It is to be regretted that on account of the bulk of the work an Index has not been provided. Still the Table of Contents is ample. In conclusion, we must repeat that this work ought to be near at hand to every one interested in theology.

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### 3.—ETHICS.<sup>1</sup>

We have derived no small satisfaction and profit from Dr. Meurin's admirable little treatise on Ethics. It is intended primarily for the students of high schools and colleges, but will no doubt find a still wider sphere of usefulness. It is thrown into the simple form of a catechism of about five hundred questions, which are neatly proposed, and then answered with as much brevity as is consistent with clearness. Although this method might seem at first sight rather dogmatic than demonstrative, yet the order in which the questions follow one another is so perfectly natural and scientific that the doctrine is proved in the very statement. This is not the only point in which the eminent author shows himself thoroughly imbued with the teaching and method of St. Thomas. We have noticed throughout that the doubt suggested to our mind by any given statement has invariably furnished the subject-matter of the next question. Thanks to this concise mode of procedure, which avoids much of the repetition inseparable from more formal proofs and demonstrations, a great deal of ground is covered in the narrow compass of 140 pages. While nothing is omitted that is to be found in ordinary text-books, much is inserted which is often

<sup>1</sup> *Ethics*. By the Most Reverend Leo Meurin, S.J., Archbishop of Nisibe, Bishop of Port-Louis. Port-Louis.

too exclusively relegated to the province of moral theology ; such as a treatment of the distinction between grievous and venial sin ; of restitution, its roots and conditions, and so forth. There is, moreover, an unusually full and minute explanation of all the particular virtues, grouped together under the four principal or "cardinal" virtues.

All this is very useful nowadays, when, whether for better or for worse, men wish to be self-directive in all matters as far as possible. It can hardly be denied that a knowledge of the more practical parts of Ethics and of certain parts of Moral Theology ought to form part of the education of every intelligent Catholic.

In point of doctrine His Grace has no new views to ventilate, but follows faithfully in the wake of St. Thomas. His sociology is eminently that of Aquinas, as recently approved by His Holiness, both in regard to the labour question and as to the relation of Catholics to any existing government in pacific possession.

As to the exercise of religious toleration in countries where there is a mixture of creeds, Christian or otherwise, no one can accuse the Bishop of Port-Louis of narrowness or bigotry.

There are some useful appendices and summaries at the end of the book. In the first we have a classification of all the virtues, with the corresponding vices of excess and defect. As many of these have no proper English name, while others are usually confounded under one generic term, the learned author has laboured much to construct a scientific terminology out of our somewhat unscientific language. Many of his restrictions and extensions of meanings would hardly be borne out by the dictionary or by common use ; while some of his compounds do not pretend to be anything more than make-shifts. This of course is unavoidable. But we certainly should prefer the more usual forms : laxity, avarice, luxury, industry, courage, daring, &c., to the rather cumbrous : laxness, avariciousness, &c.

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#### 4.—INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONFESSORS.<sup>1</sup>

The excellence of a confessor does not depend merely on his knowledge of theology or his skill in applying to individual

<sup>1</sup> *Theologia Pastoralis complectens practicam institutionem confessarii.* Auctore Jos. Aertyns, C.S.S.R. Tornai : Casterman.

cases the teaching of the great moral theologians of the Catholic Church. He is not only a teacher and a judge, but a physician and father. He has need of personal virtue, and that in a high degree, as he will often have to exercise it under very difficult circumstances. His patience and charity will often be greatly tried, he will have to be on his guard against being influenced by human respect or natural affection. His intention must be pure, if he is to do good work for God. He must continually look to God for help and light if he is to avoid laxity on the one hand or severity on the other. Such a book as Father Aertyns' is, therefore, of the greatest value to all priests who are engaged in the responsible and difficult duties of a confessor—duties the importance of which are too often undervalued, because those who exercise them do not appreciate the far-reaching consequences for good or evil of their treatment of their penitents in the confessional.

Father Aertyns begins by a general sketch of the virtues necessary to the confessor and the faults he has specially to avoid, and then passes on to the main portion of his book, which he divides into two parts, of which the first gives general rules for dealing with penitents, and the second, special rules for dealing with various classes of persons according to their age, disposition, condition of life, the vices to which they are prone, and the degree of virtue to which they have attained. Under all these heads he gives most prudent and sensible advice, and if we venture to criticize one or two points, it is not because we do not appreciate the usefulness of his book or undervalue the practical good that may be derived from it. We are glad to see that he lays stress on the practice of saying some words of encouragement and advice to every penitent. Priests lose a great opportunity of doing good who are satisfied with giving penance and absolution without a word beside. There is no time when the soul is more susceptible to grace, or when gentle words of exhortation or comfort make a deeper impression. So again we thoroughly agree with him when he insists on the necessity of rousing boys to sincere contrition, remarking what we believe is perfectly true, that as a rule *sorrow* is one of the last things that they think of in confession, and that the act of contrition is too often recited parrot-fashion, simply for want of advertence.

But we do not agree with him when he recommends that in the case of habitual sinners and those who have often fallen a

penance should *always* be imposed which is to last for some time. (p. 44.) Experiences teaches that the evil resulting from such a practice exceeds the good. After a few days the penance is, in a majority of cases, neglected, and thus fresh sin incurred which might have been avoided if the protracted penance had not been imposed. Of course there are cases, and not unfrequent cases, in which the confessor will act most prudently in imposing a penance which has to be repeated several times, but we certainly cannot approve it as a universal rule for *recidivi et habituali peccatores*, as our author would have us do. So again in the matter of the postponement of absolution we think that Father Aertyns' advice tends to too great severity. In the case of penitents of whose dispositions the confessor doubts, we hold that he should ask himself whether there is in his mind a *probable* opinion in their favour. If so, let him absolve them by all means. The grace of the absolution will often turn the scale as regards after-perseverance. Sometimes a penitent who will not avoid an occasion of sin which is verging on being a proximate one, but sincerely promises that if the occasion recurs the sin shall not recur, will if the confessor gives him the benefit of the doubt, make of his own accord, after absolution, the promise to avoid the occasion which before absolution he would not make. If the confessor had sent him away unabsolved, he would very possibly have never returned, and both the occasion and the sin would have continued. We do not say that absolution is always to be given in such a case, far from it; the special circumstances of each case must decide the matter, but the general tone of our author's chapter on this subject seems to us not to give sufficient weight to the additional grace that the absolution carries with it to one who, at the moment at all events, is really in good faith in the intention to avoid the sin. The resolution may not be a very firm one, but with the strength that comes with the absolution there is a good hope that it may gain the firmness necessary to ensure its being kept.

These are points of detail, but they are points of very important detail. We cannot, however, expect unanimity on every point, and we certainly condemn the lax confessors described in this treatise (p. 19) as decidedly as its author does. But gentleness is not laxity, and it is better to err on the side of making the tribunal too easy a one than to repel the faithful by over-severity. Perhaps in practice there would not



be much difference between Father Aertyns and ourselves, except on the subject of the penance oft-repeated, where we certainly must beg to differ from him seriously.

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5.—DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.<sup>1</sup>

We may well congratulate ourselves at receiving through the energy and talents of the Abbé Vigouroux a really good and scholarlike *Dictionary of the Bible*, one which will compare favourably with, and in some respects surpass, Dr. William Smith's. M. Vigouroux and his *collaborateurs* have not been content to adapt from the English or German. They have relied on their own extensive studies and have aimed at producing an original work. They have gone deeply too into such topics as required it. The *fasciculus* before us, although it only includes from "Animaux" to "Archæologie," contains more than three hundred double-columned quarto pages, the type being nearly the same as in Dr. Smith's dictionaries.

Among the interesting words are "Animaux Impurs," with eleven columns, "Année" with ten, "Annonciation" (which is mainly a treatise on the Holy House) with five, "Apocalypse" with fifteen, "Apocalypses Apocryphes" with eleven, "Versions Arabes" with twelve, &c.

The article on "Impure Animals," that is, ceremoniously impure animals, is by Many, who fully recognizes that the Mosaic distinctions of food are paralleled by similar distinctions among other Oriental nations, as the Egyptians, Arabs, and even Hindus. Nor is there in this anything that one would not have expected. Continuity is on our brains just at present, but, although there is such a tendency to exaggerate its claims, it is undoubtedly a principle of the widest application. It is scarcely conceivable that Moses should under God have sought to establish the Israelitic commonwealth on entirely new lines. We should expect that he would take the habits and ideas of surrounding nations with which Israel had previously mingled as his point of departure. The motive for which the system of prohibiting certain foods is taken by Many to be two-fold; primarily to separate Israel from his heathen neighbours,

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Publié par E. Vigouroux, Prêtre du Saint-Sulpice avec le concours, &c. Fasc. III. *Animaux—Archæologie*. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1892.

secondly for sanitary purposes. Several medical authorities are quoted for the opinion that in Oriental countries abstinence from the foods which the law forbids is required for health. It is an omission in this article that nothing is said of Totemism, seeing that rationalism seeks thence the origin of these curious distinctions. The article on the Apocalypse is the fullest in the *fasciculus*; and is by Corluy; a good and sound account although it does not contain anything very new or original. In the article on "Apostles" it is a surprise to find no reference to the class who were apostles in a minor degree. The only Apostles dealt with are the Twelve.

Those who neglect to take in this dictionary, while it is being issued in *fasciculi*, will have cause to regret it afterwards. It will be indispensable for a theological library. And how cheap it is! Only five francs a *fasciculus* for subscribers.

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#### 6.—A MENOLOGY OF ENGLAND AND WALES.<sup>1</sup>

We gladly welcome a reissue of this valuable work which now appears with over a hundred pages of new matter, arranged partly as notes, partly as addenda, appendices, &c. These will increase greatly its utility and reliability as a book of reference. It may be said to have practically stood the test of time, and now we may hope that it will be permanently respected as an authority. Books of reference are not as a rule interesting simply as reading, but this menology is a favourable exception. The writing is even throughout, and the notices are just long enough to arouse attention and to conjure up some definite image before the mind. It may be commended to those in search of short spiritual readings.

The lists of saints in the various appendices, besides their value for reference, afford room for interesting reflections, especially the list (Appendix III.), of "saints belonging to the reigning houses of the various kingdoms in England, from the time of St. Augustine," which commences with St. Ethelbert, closes with Blessed Margaret of Salisbury, and comprises in all 78 names. From Appendix IV. "A chronological list of the saints named in the Menology," we find that the seventh

<sup>1</sup> *A Menology of England and Wales; or, Brief Memorials of Ancient British and English Saints.* By Richard Stanton, Priest of the Oratory, London. With supplement, &c. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd., 1892.

and eighth centuries together are accredited with 213 saints, whilst the four preceding and five subsequent centuries claim together 177, the fourteenth has three saints, the fifteenth only one. Though the figures must not be taken for more than they profess to represent—*i.e.*, they are the number of holy men of whom definite memorials exist, all indefinite groups as "martyrs under Diocletian," and all such saints as are only remembered by name being omitted—they give some indication of the fervour with which the inhabitants of these islands embraced the faith, the fidelity with which they kept it, and the falling off from high purpose which preceded the great religious revolt. But then the same list goes on to console us with the suggestion that the two centuries which followed have given a greater number of glorious names to our martyr roll, than the most fervent centuries had added to the album of our saints.

Of faults we note hardly any, and those of a sort that no diligence can completely weed out, as will be believed when we say that though we have used the book not a little, we have only once been disappointed in a reference.

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### Literary Record.

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#### I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

IF (as is very unlikely) Protestant controversialists have any sense of shame, the Rev. W. L. Holland, M.A., ought to be thoroughly ashamed of himself when he reads Father Thurston's thorough and searching little pamphlet on the *Immuring of Nuns*.<sup>1</sup> Its learned author has looked up every instance within his reach in which this detestable crime is charged on monks and nuns of the middle ages. He traces out each case to its original source, and shows most convincingly that no more unfounded calumny was ever invented. He quotes from a Lecture of the Protestant League to accompany a set of slides in which slide 30, Walling up of a Nun, and slide 31, Skeleton of an Immured Nun, are about as ingenious a method of maligning the Catholic Church as even Mr. Holland and his friends can devise. To put before an ignorant assembly of

<sup>1</sup> *The Immuring of Nuns*. By the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J. Historical Series, No. 5. London: Catholic Truth Society.

half-educated Protestants a picture which appeals to their sight and expresses itself in their imagination is to have an almost indelible conviction that what is thus painted before their eyes *must* be true. To counteract the mischief, all that Catholics can do is to put forward in popular form a searching inquiry into the truth of the charge. This Father Thurston has done so successfully that any fair-minded Protestant reading his pamphlet will be proof against the calumny for the future. If Mr. Holland or his companions in the Protestant Association should read it—well we cannot hope that it will open their eyes—but at least magic-lantern slides will be more utterly inexcusable even than they were before.

Father Pagani's book on *Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament*<sup>1</sup> well deserved to be translated. It contains thirty-one Visits to our Blessed Lord in the Tabernacle, in each of which He is adored under some different character. Each is divided into three parts, each part is headed by a suitable text from Holy Scripture. Each Visit ends with a prayer, an appeal to Mary, and an ejaculation to her Divine Son. The thoughts in this little book are very beautiful, and it would be used with great advantage by any one who has adopted the pious custom of a daily visit to the Blessed Sacrament. It is cheap and of portable size, fairly got up, though in this respect the Art and Book Company have still much to learn.

The Catholic Truth Society have added to their many other services to the public a prayer-book for seamen.<sup>2</sup> It is excellently arranged to contain just the devotions which are required, and no more: and we believe we are right in saying that the counsels of those who are familiar with the wants and habits of sailors has been taken as to the selection and arrangement. Thus the Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays are inserted, although they take up a good half of the book. They are wanted for the Sunday morning services on board ship when a chaplain cannot be obtained to preach, but some one can be obtained to hold a service. Also there is a form of Sunday morning service as a substitute for Mass, a judicious selection of the hymns most generally known and liked, and explanations in simple language of these doctrines of our holy faith which enter most into the ordinary course of

<sup>1</sup> *Devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament.* From the Italian of J. B. Pagani. New Edition. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co.

<sup>2</sup> *Guide to Heaven.* For use of those at Sea. London: Catholic Truth Society.

the spiritual life. The get-up is good, the type large, and the price ninepence nett, the cheapest possible for a book of the size. When a boy elects to go to sea those interested in him should see that he is provided with this *Guide to Heaven*.

Even in so concise a form as that under which it is published at the office of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, *The Life of St. Aloysius*<sup>1</sup> is most delightful and edifying to readers of every age and every class. Since he is the special patron of youth, the short and simple manner in which the life is narrated is very useful, and the little pamphlet, costing only twopence, will be highly acceptable for distribution in our schools. The text is composed mainly of anecdotes illustrating the history and the virtues of the Saint, while almost every page is adorned with an engraving, which it is needless to say, greatly enhances its attractiveness in the eyes of young people. St. Aloysius' devotion to our Blessed Lady and to the Sacred Heart are brought into special prominence.

Uniform with the above are short Lives of two beatified servants of God, Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque and Blessed Peter Chanel. The name of the former is familiar to every Christian as that of the holy nun who was privileged to hold communication with our Lord Himself, and receive from His Divine lips the commission to propagate the Devotion to His Sacred Heart. Through the agency of Father de la Colombière, she was instrumental in planting in many pious hearts this devotion, now so widespread throughout Christendom, and also in urging upon the faithful to make reparation for the outrages our Lord daily receives in the Sacrament of His love through the indifference and irreverence of professing Christians. The spiritual favours and interior consolations bestowed upon this humble and obedient religious were of an extraordinary nature. A large amount of information is ably summarized in this pamphlet,<sup>2</sup> as well as in the companion one, a memoir of the Blessed Peter Chanel.<sup>3</sup> This saintly priest, the first martyr of Oceania, was a model of innocence and purity second only to St. Aloysius, whom he chose as his patron. Originally a little shepherd boy, he early dedicated himself to God and became the pioneer of Christianity in the South Sea Islands. After

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Saint Aloysius*. Messenger Office, St. Helens, Lancashire.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life of Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque*. Translated by the Sisters of the Visitation, Roselands. Abbeville: C. Paillart.

<sup>3</sup> *Short Life of the Blessed Peter Chanel*. Abbeville: C. Paillart.

several years of arduous and ill-requited labour among the savages of Futuna, Father Chanel was cruelly murdered by two native chiefs, out of hatred for the religion he strove to establish on the island. Shortly after his death the whole island was converted to the faith.

A new volume of the *Publications of the Catholic Truth Society*<sup>1</sup> is sure to contain varied useful and interesting matter. Vol. XV. is singularly varied. It commences with a concise explanation of the False Decretals, in which the Catholic Church is vindicated from all the charges generally built up upon them. Then follows a Life of St. Cuthbert; then a paper on Holy Mass by Mr. Costelloe, which has all the greater value from its being written by a layman; further on, some excellent little stories, and so on. These collected volumes are very useful for Catholic libraries and for school prizes.

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## II.—MAGAZINES.

The August number of the *Études* opens with a pleasantly written article on Louis Veuillot as a correspondent, *à propos* of the publication of the seventh volume of his Letters. The highest praise, it is said, that can be given to this new volume, is that it is in no wise inferior to its predecessors. No one in recent times has handled the French language with greater facility, vigour, and elegance than this eminent writer, and his correspondence forms the most important epistolary collection of this century. A few gems gathered from the mine give the reader some idea of the treasures it contains. Father Brucker continues his essay on the Prophets of the Old Dispensation. He contends that, if they admit as much as they do, rationalists cannot logically deny the supernatural nature of the utterances of the seers of Israel. They cannot account satisfactorily for the origin of monotheistic religion by alleging it to be the natural development of pre-existing elements; nor can they explain how, without Divine inspiration, the teaching of the Prophets could surpass what is attainable by unaided reason. In a former article on the habitability of other worlds, Father Haté established that this theory is not at variance with the teaching of faith. He now examines it by the light of

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the Catholic Truth Society*, Vol. XV. London: Catholic Truth Society.

rational science, and pronounces it to be highly improbable, unless to organisms of a nature unlike to those with which we are familiar, and under physical and atmospheric conditions dissimilar to those of our earth. Father Prat contributes a second article on undergraduate life at Oxford, giving an account no less graphic and accurate than the preceding one, of the manners and customs, the studies and amusements of the student, during his term of residence at the University. The concluding chapter of Mgr. Freppel's biography treats of his wise government of his diocese, the courageous and prudent part he took in all questions where politics and religion were in conflict, his zeal for the training of his clergy and providing a sound Christian education for the youth of his flock. The paper on the recent discoveries in the action of detonating substances, their uses, their dangers, their abuses, will prove interesting to the general reader, still more so to those who have some technical knowledge of the subject.

In the *Katholik* for September, Dr. Stöckl closes the subject of Science and Religion by showing that the alleged opposition is not between our knowledge of the laws of nature and the Divine commands; it arises from the pride of human reason, which will not submit to the requirements of faith, and constructs a false philosophy as weapon against revealed truth. A sketch is given of another of the Churchmen who lifted up their voice and employed their pen to rescue souls from the deadly errors promulgated by the reformers, Michael Buchinger. A few extracts from his writings are given in which he castigates those who, condemning the veneration of the saints as idolatry, indulged in the superstitious practices of the age, magic arts, witchcraft, and astrology. The sixth and concluding instalment of Dr. Bellesheim's *Life of the late Cardinal Manning*, enters fully into his action in regard to the social questions of the day, and eulogizes his beneficent interference on behalf of the indigent and pauper classes of the community. The best method of dividing into subjects the religious teaching imparted in the Catechism is fully discussed in the *Katholik*. The method pursued in the Roman Catechism is said to be less correct according to the sequence observed by the Church in unfolding revealed truth than that followed by Deharbe.

Under the title of "A bad defence of bad deeds," the *Civiltà Cattolica* (1013) comments on the justification, on the plea of patriotic sentiment, by the Liberal papers, of the disgraceful



attack on the Catholics who were celebrating the Columbus *fête* on the 7th of August. The anti-clerical party chose to view their proceedings as a demonstration of Vaticanism, inimical to free Italy. An article on Republican France, which arrogates to itself to have reached the apex of democratic progress, asserts that the rule now rests in the hands of an oligarchy composed of an educated minority who deceive, and the large majority who are deceived by them. The supposition that the Government represents the nation, and all citizens from the agricultural labourer to the Jewish plutocrat are equal in the eyes of the law, is stated to be a *factio juris*. In a word, the most civilized nation of Europe, the bulk of which is Catholic, actually submits to the domination of a small body of Freemasons. The *Civiltà* protests, in the name and in defence of religion and sound philosophy, against the pernicious errors enunciated and the illogical conclusions drawn by Professor Negri in his speech at the inauguration of the new museum at Milan. In the following issue (1014), the *Civiltà*, referring to the Holy Father's letter to the French Bishops, in which he asserts that the separation of Church and State may be tolerated in some countries but must not be admitted in France, once more expounds the true doctrine as to the relative position of Church and State, and their respective spheres of action. The other articles are the continuation of the history of the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, and another chapter on the migration of the Hittites. The latter is an erudite essay on the origin and meaning of the name Pelasgi, and the tribes to which it ought to be given. The Archæological Notes give the Greek text, with comments, of an epigraph discovered on a stone inserted in the wall of a ruined Byzantine temple in Cilicia. Some curious fragments, forming part of a Latin calendar, are also noticed. The most interesting thing is the description of some mosaics found in the basement of an ancient edifice on the Flaminian Way. The most important and beautiful of these mosaics, on which two figures are depicted, is made to represent the painted curtain of a theatre.

